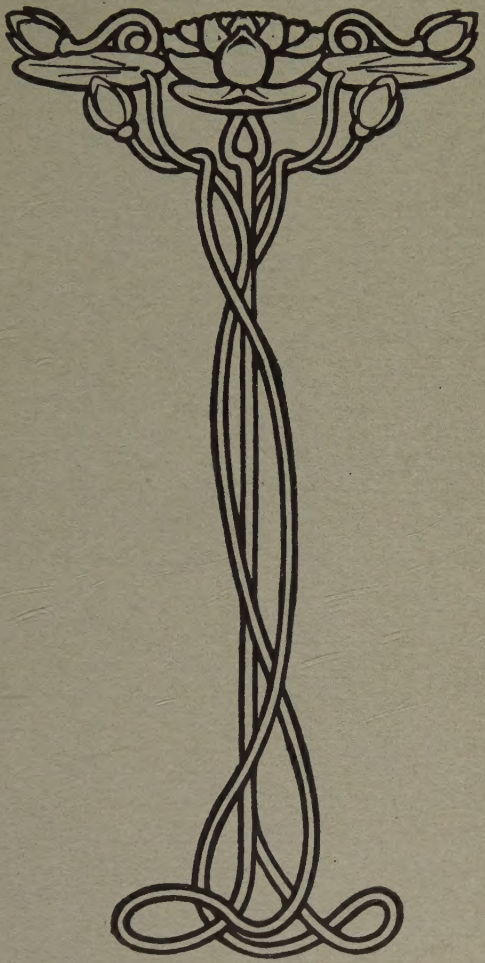
École Normale Supérieure

An Historical Sketch



By A. J. Ladd.

ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND THE ARTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, JUNE, 1904.

BY

A. J. LADD, M. A., PH. D.

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN TEACHERS COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

1907
THE HERALD PUBLISHING COMPANY
GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA

TO

DOCTOR WILLIAM HAROLD PAYNE,

That Keen Critic, Impartial Judge and Sane
Writer of Educational Literature, this
little Sketch is gratefully inscribed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1–3

CHAPTER I 3–9

Educational Activity During the French Revolution—
Prior to the Revolution all educational activity in the hands of the church (3).—The National Assembly assumes full charge of education (4).—Existing schools closed and institutions swept away (4).—The importance of the question realized and the difficult problem of construction attacked (4). The work of the National Assembly—the report of Talleyrand—referred to the next assembly (6).—The Legislative Assembly disregards the bequest and presents its own contribution in the report of Condorcet (6).—The contribution of the National Convention—the bill of Dounou—much inferior, theoretically, to former ones (7).—Comments and summary. Permanent gain—the clear grasping of the fundamental ideas of national education (7-9).

CHAPTER II 9–14

Establishment of the Normal School—
General mention (9).—Historical references to normal school activity prior to the Revolution—Démia, LaSalle, Rolland (9).—Lakanal's report and recommendation—Oct. 26, 1794 (10-11).—The bill as passed (12-13).—Discussion prior to the passing (13-14).—General forecast. Selection of the Faculty (14).

CHAPTER III 14–17

Organization and Opening of the Normal School—
Gathering of students (14).—Function of school and general program (14).—General management as outlined by Lakanal and Deleyre (16).—Opening (16).—Studentry (16-17).

CHAPTER IV 17–24

The Work of the Normal School—
The work begun (17).—General confusion characteristic of the work of the early weeks (18-19).—The instruction, both in matter and method, very inappropriate (19-20).—Criticisms lead to official investigation (20).—Report of investigating committee, given by Dounou (20-21).—Decree of suppression (21).—Summary of the work done (21-22).—The "Journal" (22-23).—Estimates of the value of the experiment by Compayré, Barante, and Biot (23-24).

CHAPTER V 24–29

Reorganization under Napoleon—

Educational situation following the Revolution. Dounou's bill of 1795 not in full operation. Dissatisfaction (24-25).—Meeting of Councils General. Decree of 1806 making education a function of the State (25).—Organization of the Imperial University. The Decree of 1808 (25-26).—Reestablishment of the Normal School. The Decree (26).—Completion of the organization in matters of detail: expenses, officials and general disciplinary regulations (27-28).—Analysis and explanation of restrictive measures (28-29).

CHAPTER VI 29–34

The Normal School from 1810 to 1830—

Normal School affiliated with the Paris Faculties instead of with the Special Schools as planned (29-30).—The reflex influence of the two (30).—Studies. Details as to the first years (30-31).—Napoleon's plans not fully carried out—a wider scope given (30-31).—Effects of Restoration—a freer life and a broader outlook (31-32).—Criticized as a "nest of liberalism" (32).—Ordinance of 1821 creating "partial normal schools" (32).—Suppression of Normal School (32).—Reestablishment in 1826 (33).—Revolution of 1830 gives new life (34).

CHAPTER VII 35–46

Reorganization: Work from 1830 to 1848—

Foundation laying (35).—Admission (35).—Courses of Study, Section of Letters (37-39); Section of Science (39-41). Aggregation (41-42).—Faculty. Buildings (42-44).—Pedagogical Aspects (44-46).—Discipline (46).

CHAPTER VIII 47–55

The Normal School from 1830 to the Reorganization of the Present Time—

Interesting topics that must be passed by (47-48).—Brief résumé (48).—General outline of Period (48).—Gratuity (49). Aggregation (49-50).—Admission (50-51).—Curriculum (51-52).—Buildings (52).—Discipline (52-53).—Laboratories (53-54).—Breadth of Scope (54-55).

CHAPTER IX 55–58

Reorganization now in Progress—

Development of the École Normale into a university rather than a Normal School (55).—Reason for change of character—pedagogical instruction not being demanded, the emphasis was placed elsewhere (56).—Increasing valuation of pedagogical science makes another change necessary (56). Reorganization. Incorporation of the Normal School into the Sorbonne, becoming its Pedagogical Department 56-57).

Bibliography 58

INTRODUCTION

M. Guizot, in his History of Civilization,[1] has put forth the proud claim that France has ever been a sort of clearing-house for European ideas. He has claimed, for example, that before a new idea or principle of civilization could be accepted or made operative in the other European countries it must first have received the endorsement of France. Napoleon's assertion that a revolution in France is sure to be followed by revolutions in other European countries is to the point. Whether or not the boast could be sustained as a whole it is certainly true that many instances could be cited which would seem, at least, to give it color.

It is not my purpose either to defend or challenge the statement beyond calling attention to the fact that for as much of truth as may be found within it there are many good and sufficient causes. The simple matters of soil, climate and mere geographical location, those most formative factors in the development of any people, have here exerted all their wonted influence; so that thus located and thus supplied, throwing out, for the moment, all other considerations, this people must needs have occupied a very commanding position in the onward march of the centuries. And it has. In peace and in war, in political experiments and in social theories, in theological controversies and in educational practices, she has ever played so strong a hand that the eyes of the world have followed her, always with interest, many times with wonder, and often with profit.

In this introduction it is my purpose merely to prepare the way for an intelligent comprehension of the subject under discussion. From the general mention already made I now pass to very hasty survey of some of the most striking features connected with her educational leadership.

In this field the activities of her people may not seem so stirring, they may not have made so much noise, as in some of the others, but yet they have been far reaching and telling. Before the beginning of the Christian era the present soil of France harbored and largely supported the most celebrated seats of learning west of Rome. I find Henry Bernard saying that in these early days Marseilles, at the mouth of the Rhone, was known far and wide as "the dispenser of Greek culture, not only to its citizens, but to disciples from all parts of Gaul and Germany."[2] He also calls attention to the value of the educational work of the Druids. He says, likewise, that during the early centuries of the Christian era and up to the very downfall of the Roman power, public educational institutions were found in nearly all of the larger towns of the present France. And after the decline of the pagan schools their places were taken by those of Christian origin and conducted in the monasteries and cathedrals.

---

[1]Guizot: History of Civilization, 1: 16.

[2]Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 197.

Later, when, under the repressing influences of asceticism, bigotry and church domination, the dark night-clouds of ignorance had settled down and so nearly succeeded in putting an end to intellectual progress, it was from the home of the Franks that the first rays of light and promise shone forth. Thru the painstaking and intelligent efforts of the great Alcuin, well worthy of being the co-worker of the great Charles, these clouds were lifted. And a few centuries later, with her people thus more nearly ready, we see the Mediæval Universities arise. They develop, play their large part in the upbuilding of this interesting people, and then either pass away or form the basis of more modern institutions. France likewise furnished a most favorable environment for another celebrated institution of these Middle Age centuries—the Teaching Congregation. From their founding up to the early days of the Revolution, when, with a wave of the hand, as it were, they were apparently swept away, nearly every one of the forty or more orders was successfully active in the educational work of France.

The normal school movement, which is now recognized the world over as one of the most fundamental agencies in the development of any nation or people, had its origin in the French mind and first sunk its roots into the French soil. Educational France may well take pride in Démia and LaSalle. True, this work did not attract very wide attention, nor did it continue save among the Congregations, but the institution has scarcely once lapsed either in theory or practice.

The pages of history cannot show a parallel to the educational activity put forth during the great Revolution. With what a grasp of fundamental principles, with what a breadth of view as to the importance of the question, with what a clearness of vision as to the far reaching consequences of the legislation in hand, and with what a clear recognition of the absolute necessity of wise legislation, did the statesmen of the Revolution try to handle the educational problem! How keenly they felt that it meant life or death to their State! Well and truly could Lakanal say: "Hopes the most brilliant, expectations the most universal were those of a new plan of education which should place the nation in a position to exercise worthily that sovereignty which had been rendered to her."[3] And as to results achieved thru that agitation and that multitudinous and contradictory legislation: they certainly cannot be summed up in M. Thery's word, "negation", nor in M. Duruy's, equally fruitless, "chimera". Rather does Compayré more intelligently sum up the situation when he says: "For every impartial observer it is certain that the Revolution opened a new era in education."[4]

It is true, again, that the advanced positions were not maintained tho "a new era in education" was opened. This was due, however, not to the falsity of the conclusions reached but to the repressive hand of monarchical power which never wants an educated people. Note how eagerly and how quickly and how intelligently educational reform has arisen every time the power of that hand has been stayed for a moment. This is strikingly seen after the governmental changes of 1830 and of 1871, and it can be discerned, even, following those of 1815 and of 1848. And the gains they have made have not once been wholly lost, so that, on the whole, progress has continued, now slowly, now rapidly, but always continued, until today France is second to no country in the comprehensiveness of her educational system or in the desire that her every son shall receive its benefits.

The institution which it has been my profit to study and which it is now my pleasure to attempt to describe is an example of the pioneer

[3]Hippeau: L'Instruction en France, pendant la Revolution, p. 411.
[4]Compayré: History of Pedagogy, p. 363.

work done by this interesting people. The "É'Cole Normale", since 1845 called the "École Normale Supérieure", is one of the most interesting educational experiments ever tried, one which no other nation has ever tried, or probably ever will try, but one which France has somehow found, in spite of manifest contradictions, to be the very corner-stone of her educational progress. Note the salient features of this school and its great dissimilarity to all others will be at once appreciated.

It was not at first, nor has it once been since, an ordinary normal school whose function it is to prepare young men and women for teaching children how to read and write. Not this, difficult as it always is, has been the problem of the "É'Cole Normale". Something very different. Indeed, its function is caught sight of in the very name it has borne, "L'École Normale," "*The* Normal School," "The Superior Normal School". In its first conception it was to form and produce not merely teachers, but teachers of teachers, men themselves capable of directing the work of normal schools. Later, and during the greater portion of its history, there has been added to that first work another, thought by some to be greater yet, even the preparation of the teachers for the colleges of France—college professors.

For students the "École Normale" has taken the choicest and keenest young men of the entire land, already well equipped, academically, for honorable positions in life. It has provided for these the most learned masters and best teachers to be found. It has placed at their disposal the best equipment in library and laboratory facilities that money could obtain. It has made them *interns,* and thus has effectually kept away from them all distractions of the outside world and given them an opportunity for uninterrupted application and unrestricted search for the truth. As students it has made them free spirits roaming at will under wise and efficient guidance. It has therefore been able to turn out men of mark, men who have distinguished themselves and rendered invaluable service to their country not only in the one profession of teaching for which they have been especially fitted, but in every department and activity of the nation's higher, freer life.

CHAPTER I.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Before recording the actual founding of the institution under study it will be necessary to state a few facts as to existing conditions which really led to its founding.

In spite of the fact already stated that from the very beginning the French people have paid much attention to educational matters, and even that important educational movements have originated among them, it is true that prior to the Revolution the education of the French people had ever been in the hands of the church. By means of the various "teaching congregations", notably the Jesuits, Christian Brothers and Oratorians, the great educational work of the country was being done. Not till Revolutionary times did France as a nation really try, strongly and effectively, to face the problem of the education of her people.

True, long before this, dissatisfied with the work of the church, fearing that thru it France was being bound hand and foot by that ever active and purposeful ecclesiastical organization, many of her far-seeing statesmen had put forth efforts looking toward a change. For some time, it will be remembered, the Parliamentarians had striven to shake off what they thought to be an incubus and in 1762 really thought they had accomplished their purpose when the King signed the decree expelling the Jesuits from France. But this was only half a victory, and short-lived at that. And it touched but one phase of the great educational problem.

It is true that from time to time as the centuries passed the government did put forth educational activity, even that some worthy institutions were founded and maintained as, for example, the University of Paris and the College of France. But all such acts simply touched, as it were, the fringes of the garment. Up to the very opening of the great struggle the educational fabric itself was in the hands of the church. But no longer.

No immediate action was taken hostile to existing educational practices, yet the National Assembly did at the very start begin the discussion of educational problems in such a way as to spread alarm thruout all the teaching organizations. It assumed the right to handle the whole question and to plan an organization as tho nothing were being done. All this greatly distressed the workers and had the effect of practically closing existing schools. To quote from Barnard:

"The universities, constrained particularly in their moral life, deprived of this consciousness of their future, one of the primordial elements of the existence of institutions, as of man, died, so to speak, a voluntary death." [1] And what was true of the universities was almost equally true of the teaching congregations.

Finally, the long expected blows came. On March 8th, 1893, all college properties were ordered sold and the proceeds given to the State. And in the following September all higher institutions of France were abolished. To quote from Barnard: "So perished the ancient University of Paris, so perished the similar institutions to which it had

[1] Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 210.

given rise; without even the nominal honor of a death sentence and without the special exertion of any power for that end." [2]

Educational chaos followed: One writer says, "After this event, during four years, there was neither a university nor a college in existence in all France." [3] And the situation was almost as bad in elementary as in higher education, so that it would scarce be an exaggeration to say that the Revolution at once swept out of existence every educational agency in use and that for several years there was the astounding spectacle of a nation without schools.

But such a condition could not long endure. From every quarter of France, from every class of her people, complaints poured in upon the Assemblies for what was generally considered the wanton destruction of the educational means that had been so long at their doors. Appeals also were multiplied, some for the reinstatement of the old teaching congregations, others for a new organization, but all for educational opportunities for the young of France.

Nor were the Assemblies unwilling to act. As already suggested, many of the leaders, from the very first, clearly and fully appreciated the situation and at once set to work to construct that which would not only satisfy the demands constantly being made, but, as well, furnish France with such a system of education as would continuously equip her people to play nobly, worthily and successfully the newer, larger role upon which she had just entered. They wished to make their new watchword, "liberty, fraternity and equality," a reality among them and wanted an educational system commensurate with its spirit and breadth.

But the problem was a vast one. They had nothing to begin with. Everything had been swept away. They had to begin at the very bottom. The task was herculean. And to make matters so much the worse they had never had any experience in planning any kind of a large national undertaking. The governmental work of France had never been much in the hands of her people and now for the first time in 175 years the States General had been summoned. And as from the vantage point of today we look back upon the Revolutionary Assemblies the wonder is not that they did not act in a saner manner and accomplish greater results but rather that in dealing with so many difficult and far-reaching problems, and all new to them, they showed as much sanity as they did. The wonder is that, especially in educational matters, they could accomplish anything. It is nothing less than marvellous that a "new era in education" could result.

But even tho the men of the Revolution had had no practical legislative experience in educational matters many of them were deep, careful thinkers and all of them terribly in earnest. Some of them realized that it was a matter of life and death and their efforts at legislation clearly reveal the fact. As Dr. Payne says, "The educational legislation of the French Revolution, apparently so inconsiderate, so vacillating, and so fruitless, betrays the instinctive feeling of a nation in peril, that the only constitutional means of regeneration is universal instruction, intellectual and moral." [4] Realizing the immense importance to them of a sound educational system they attacked the problem with that same energy that has characterized them in all stages of their history. The matter must be handled in a thoro, comprehensize manner. It must be looked at from all sides. France had entered upon a new

---

[2]Ibid., 211.

[3]American Quarterly Review, IX: 22. Article on "The University of France" by Rev. Robert Baird.

[4]Compayré: History of Pedagogy, p. 411, in Analytical Summary by the translator, Dr. Payne.

life. Her educational system must be new. It must contain nothing suggestive of the old order of things. The old monarchy must not be allowed to contribute anything, no matter how well it had served in days past. And more difficult yet, the new system must suit the majority. How difficult! Is it any wonder that scheme after scheme was brought forward only to be rejected? that system after system was laboriously wrought out only to make place for a newer? But yet, all was not vain, the empty, formless vaporings of sentimental enthusiasts. By no means. In the early days of the Revolution Mirabeau wrote, "Those who desire that the peasant may not know how to read or write, have doubtless made a patrimony of his ignorance, and their motives are not difficult to appreciate." [5]

In September, 1791, the work of the National Assembly drew to a close. It had accomplished the purpose set forth in the memorable oath taken on the 26th of June, 1789, "never to separate till the constitution of the kingdom was established and founded on a solid basis." On the 14th of September that constitution was solemnly ratified and duly signed by the King, and on the 30th the Assembly adjourned. But what had it done for the education of the people? No schools had been established, it is true, nor any systematic plan of work agreed upon. But yet, in the constitution which they hoped would ever after be the fundamental law of the land the following is found: "There shall be created and organized a system of public instruction, common to all citizens, gratuitous with respect to those branches of instruction which are indispensable for all men, and the establishment of which shall be gradually distributed according to the divisions of the realm." [6]

For some time, under the general direction of the Committee of Public Instruction, M. de Talleyrand-périgord had been engaged on the details of a system of education that should embody the generous thought of this article.

His report was completed, accepted by the committee and, on Sept. 25th, in its name presented to the Assembly. Of this report I quote from Barnard: "The essential features of a complete system, from the knowledge necessary to constitute a useful citizen and a good man, and the amusements of the whole people, to the fine arts and the highest branches of ancient and modern literature, and the further advancement of the sciences, were discussed and arranged with a fulness and logical connection not surpassed by any similar public document in any country at that date." [7] And no one, it seems to me, who will carefully read the report will dissent from Mr. Barnard's estimate. Nay, more, he will find very much that is abreast with our best thought of today. I quote a single article, the second, that shows the universality of its spirit and connects it closely with the article of the constitution already quoted: "The primary schools shall be free and open to the children of all citizens without distinction." [8]

His plan embraced four distinct grades of instruction, primary schools for the rural districts, secondary schools for the villages, special and professional schools for the chief cities and sort of a University, called the National Institute, at Paris. The phase of the plan attracting and giving it its greatest popularity was the provision for rural schools in which the children of peasants and workmen, up to this time wholly unprovided for, were to enjoy educational advantages.

But the Legislative Assembly, beginning its sitting in September, in-

---

[5]Compayré: Ibid., p. 369.
[6]Gréard: La Legislation de L'Instruction Primaire en France, II: 1.
[7]Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 205.
[8]Gréard: Ibid., p. 2.

stead of discussing the plan submitted, appointed its own committee and the committee its own spokesman, Condercet, and proceeded to begin the construction all over again. But not till April of the next year, 1792, was the report presented and at that time so stirring were the events transpiring, so thoroly wrought up was the whole nation that, as Buisson remarks, "the report and the five memoirs accompanying it exercised only a feeble influence on the Assembly and on public opinion." And this, too, in spite of the fact that the document was of such a character as to call from one of the foremost of the present educators of France this statement of high appreciation! "Of all the educational undertakings of the Revolution the most remarkable is that of Condorcet." [9]

With this report the Legislative Assembly did practically the same that the National Assembly had already done with that of Talleyrand—it passed it on for the consideration of the next Assembly. And nothing more. Wherein, then, lay its value? In itself. For as the report of Talleyrand had been the basis of that of Condorcet, so now, Condorcet's, to use Compayré's words, "remained thruout the duration of the Convention, the widely accessible source whence the legislators of that time, like Romme, Bouquirer, and Lakanel drew their inspiration." [9]

The Legislative Assembly adjourns. The National Convention meets and begins its work. Now, surely, something will be done for, as Buisson puts it, "of all the Assemblies that have governed France, the National Convention is the one most fully occupied with public instruction." [1]

Yes, it was occupied with thoughts on public instruction, so fully occupied that bill after bill was presented, many of them passed and some the next day recalled. Scheme after scheme was considered, some of which were wise but many containing but dreams and visions impossible of realization. But not a single primary school did the committee open and but three of a higher order and even these, because of their extreme impracticability, were doomed to a speedy death.

It has even been urged by some that the Convention went backward, that her final enactment was much inferior to the early suggestions of the National Assembly as shown both in the constitutional provision already cited and in the systems of Talleyrand and Condorcet. That is true, the bill offered by its principal author, Dounou, and which was finally passed Oct. 25th, 1795, just before the Convention ceased its labors, omitted some of the best provisions of the earlier ones. For example, the number of rural schools was greatly reduced and they to be placed only in the most thickly populated districts. Instruction was not to be gratuitous. All that the State was to contribute toward the support of the schools were the class rooms and garden plots for the teachers. The teachers' salaries were to be wholly made up from individual tuition fees. With this as a basis no compulsory attendance was contemplated. The program of studies, too, was narrowed, in the words of Compayré, "to reading, writing, numbers and the elements of republican morality."

But let us take the circumstances into consideration. The Convention was worn out, thoroly exhausted. It contained but few superior minds. It could not appreciate the breadth and depth, the fundamental comprehensiveness, of the earlier systems. And yet it was the ruling power and its enactment must be the law of the land until superceded by another. Dounou knew all this and realizing the truth of the old saw that "half a loaf is better than no bread," proposed a

[9]Compayré: Ibid., p. 379.
[1]Buisson Dictionnaire de Pédagogie Ire. Partie, I: 520.

system that was not so far beyond the Convention's comprehension as to make its passage impossible and its realization out of the question. And, again, doubtless he appreciated the general unpreparedness of the nation for valuing, and using a more complete system. In a word, Dounou asked for and received all that the Convention would grant and all that the people would use. And a glance at his plan, tho revealing less than the earlier promises yet reveals a decided improvement, especially in primary instruction, over general existing practices at the opening of the Revolution. And as Compayré says: "Doubtless the measure of Dounou had over all previous measures the advantage of being applied, and of not remaining a dead letter." [2]

But yet, I feel that not in the enactment alone, even tho a step in advance, are we to find the best, the ripest and most fruitful educational thought of the Revolution. Let us seek it in the conclusions not of the Revolution's decrepid old age but of its ripe manhood in the thought of Talleyrand, Condorcet and Lakanal.

Let us stop for a moment, then, and see wherein anything had been done that could be used as a basis for a "new era in education." At the dissolution of the National Convention the Revolution had been in progress for more than six years, and on the surface the only changes seemed to be of a destructive character. The existing schools had been swept away, the religious bodies, in whose hands had been practically all of elementary education, forbidden to teach, and yet nothing had been put in their places.

But tho the children were not being educated, the men of the times were, educated not in the fundamentals of reading writing and arithmetic it is true, (these they already possessed) but in the elements of educational statesmanship and legislation. As never before the attention of the leaders of thought and action thruout the whole of France had been directed to education. And thru this direction they were learning many things.

Thru long continued thought and agitation, thru discussion and debate, it had at last become a part of the consciousness of France that for her very safety there should, in the words of her first constitution, "be created and organized a system of public instruction, *common to all citizens,* and *gratuitous with respect to those branches of instruction which are indispensable for all men.*" Here we have universality and gratuity clearly stated with state control and support at least implied. And another thought followed later as a natural consequence—namely, compulsory attendance. And yet, one more, a great institution of which is the subject of this study, the Normal School idea. Their grasping of this thought that "the starting point of educational reform is the instruction and inspiration of the teaching body':[3] that they should have recognized so clearly that, as Dr. Payne puts it, "the Normal School lies at the very basis of national safety and prosperity," seems to me most remarkable. And it is so exceedingly significant that one of the very first real educational institutions that the convention founded was a Normal School—the "École Normale," to the study of which I shall shortly pass.

At first thought it may seem that I am placing undue emphasis upon these conclusions of Revolutionary study and thought, upon universality, gratuity, state control, compulsory attendance and the normal idea. These fundamental conceptions are so common to us that we scarcely give them a second thought. But this was not the case in any land as early as the days of the French Revolution. True, the ideas were not

[2]Compayre: History of Pedagogy, p. 411.
[3]Compayré: Ibid., p. 411.

altogether new, many of them were old. Pestalozzi was holding them, Comenius had held all save the Normal idea and possibly that by implication; and Luther had clearly held them all and strongly advocated them. But these were individual men, nor did they even represent governing bodies. Nowhere, so far as I can learn, were these fundamental educational ideas so clearly a part of the national thought, at this time, as in France. Certainly it is true that nowhere were they in general practice, not a single one of them. The nearest approach was in Prussia where the value of the Normal School was clearly recognized, but even Prussia had to wait for a full grasp of the whole.

But in France, before the close of the Revolution, all of these ideas, fundamental for educational prosperity and essential to national safety, were clearly grasped by the leaders of educational thought and action. I do not mean by this to imply that, even at the close of the Revolution, these thoughts were immediately put into practice. Far, far from that. Many other things had to be learned before that could be done.

Amid the difficulties of the times they soon learned that a comprehensive educational system planned by the state, conducted by the state and supported by the state was an undertaking of gigantic proportions, vaster, more burdensome by far than they had at first conceived. Thru many attempts at constructive work and thru many mistakes already made, it was at last clearly seen that a complete system of public instruction faultlessly drawn up on paper and even spread upon the statute books was quite a different thing from that same system in successful operation in every commune in France. This they had begun to learn, that tho a stable Republic rests upon general enlightenment and that upon a wide spread system of popular education, such enlightenment and such a system of education cannot be called into being by the stroke of a pen, but that on the contrary, they are the outcome, the finished products, of the enlightened, persistent and heroic work of years, aye, of generations.

No, these advanced ideas, so clearly grasped, were not immediately put into practice. There were difficulties, seen and unseen, to overcome; there were checks, expected and unexpected to meet. It has taken years and years. It has taken generations. But the program outlined in Revolutionary days is the one which the great nation has ever striven to realize; the standards set so long ago and amid such troublous times are the ones which have ever been her educational goals. She has reached them at last and today presents before the world as finely constructed an educational system as can be found in successful operation.

CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORMAL SCHOOL.

To show that these conceptions had taken deep hold of the Convention, that this great body had the courage of its educational convictions and that it was not content with mere paper systems, it is but necessary to record the establishment of a specific institution, the very crown of the system—"*L'École Normale*"—the Normal School, in October, 1794. The fact that the school was short-lived militates against neither the depth or their conviction nor the advisability of establishing Normal Schools. It simply demonstrates two facts, already cited in speaking of the legislative results of the Revolution and of Dounou's educational leadership, namely, that tho an ideal system had been conceived yet the Convention was incapable of putting it into successful operation, and that the country at large was not ready to use such a system. Nay, more, it is probably true that the very experiment of which we are speaking contributed greatly to Dounou's clear perception of the situation and thus taught him a needed lesson in practicality.

Tho the Normal School idea was not new to France, inasmuch as both Démia and LaSalle had, in the closing years of the previous century, conducted public schools whose avowed purpose was the education of teachers, and inasmuch as in various teaching congregations, now suspended, special efforts had long been put forth looking to this same end, there was not at the opening of the Revolution a single bona fide normal school in France—probably had not been for nearly a century.

The first relatively modern recommendation of such an institution was made in 1763, shortly after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The State was seeking to lay its hands upon the entire matter of public instruction. Teachers would be needed both to supply the places made vacant by the expulsion and also to fill the new places created by the desired extensions. No more serious problem was presented than the supply of these teachers. From that time on, up to the very opening of the great struggle, plan after plan was suggested for their recruitment. I mention but a single one, and this one because it seems to have had much in common with the subject of this sketch. It was the recommendation of Rolland d'Erceville, President of the Parliament of Paris. This able and enthusiastic promoter of state-supported education had been, for some time, a determined opponent of the Jesuits and when, largely owing to his efforts, they were finally to be expelled from France, he did all he could to fill the gap thus to be made in public instruction. Especially did he labor toward the education of teachers. His plan included a higher normal school for professors, who, when prepared, should take charge of the most important positions thruout the country. This thought originated in the University of Paris, but was worked out in detail by Rolland. The school, thus recommended, was to be very similar in plan of work, in general management and in function to the present Superior Normal School of France of which I write. It differed but slightly in function from the one really established in 1794. To show how nearly it approaches them, I quote from Compayré a general description:

"The establishment was to be governed by professors drawn from the different faculties, according to the different subjects of instruction. The young men received on competitive examination were to be divided into three classes, corresponding to the three grades of admission. Within the establishment they were to take part in a series of discussions, after a

given time to submit to the tests for graduation, and finally to be placed in the colleges. Is it not true that there was no important addition to be made to this scheme? Rolland also required that pedagogics have a place among the studies of these future professors, and that definite and systematic instruction be given in this art, so important to teachers of youth." [1]

But nothing permanent came from it, nor from any one of several more or less similar plans. The suggestion was not wholly lost or forgotten, however. It was revived in 1790 by a professor in the College of Bar-le-Duc who, in addressing the National Assembly on education, recommended a "National School" and in explanation said, "I mean by National School a school where all the professors of all the colleges of France shall come to learn the course of instruction given by the National Assembly and the manner of teaching it." [2]

The matter came up again on June 4th, 1794. Barére, speaking for the committee of public safety, in recommending the establishment of a military school, took occasion to say: "It (the committee) has thought to establish at Paris a school for the training of teachers who should then be scattered thruout the departments. This thought will be the object of another report." [3] But no such report was made by this committee. At least I can find no record of it. Buisson comes to the same conclusion. But Compayré proceeds upon the assumption that some definite action was taken, tho a year earlier than the date of Barére's report, for he says: "Decreed June 2nd, 1793, the foundation of normal schools was the object of a report by Lakanal on October 26th, 1794." [4] From Lakanal's introductory remarks, too, it would seem that some such action had been taken. In beginning his report he says: "I come in the name of your committee of public instruction, to present to you a plan of organization for the Normal School which you have decreed." [5] But however that may be, in October, 1794, the matter was formally presented to the Convention and, a few days later, the necessary decree passed.

In presenting the matter to the Convention, Lakanal first explained the word "normal" as from the Latin *norm,* meaning type, and the Normal School he said, ought to be a type of all others. This Normal School at Paris was planned to be a training school for normal school principals who, when trained, should go the different departments and organize secondary normals. Rapidly tracing educational history thruout the early years of the Revolution he mentions the suggestions of Talleyrand and says: "But the Constituent Assembly, wholly puffed up by the time and fatigued by all the destructions, had arrived at a moment of grand creations without strength and without courage. Public instruction was referred to the Legislative Assembly. . . . .The Legislative Assembly took up the matter and under the influence of Condorcet planned a vast and comprehensive work. But who could carry it out? A King who had the greatest interest in choking it? Or some administrative body which the King could easily bend to his will? Either the throne would destroy the instruction or the instruction would destroy the throne." [6]

Nothing was done. Using Lakanal's words, "The National Conven-

---

[1] Compayré: Les Doctrines de l'Education, II: 239.
[2] L. Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieure en France, I: 268.
[3] Guillaume: Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, IV: 522.
[4] Compayré: History of Pedagogy, p. 405.
[5] Hippeau: L'Instruction en France pendant la Revolution, p. 405.
[6] Hippeau: Ibid., p. 411.

tion appeared and the plan of instruction of the Legislative Assembly, like that of the Constituent Assembly, was only a pamphlet." [7] Continuing, he shows that the terrible progress of events prevented, during the first two years of the Convention, any educational improvements. He adds, "Such has been the state of France, but that is in the past. . . . . Europe yields to the power of the Republic, the Republic yields to the power of reason. . . . . This is a time when it is necessary to bring together in a plan of instruction worthy of you, worthy of France and of human kind, the knowledge accumulated by the ages that are past and the germs of knowledge which the ages yet to come ought to acquire." [8]

Approaching the real question of the Normal School, Lakanal says: "A great difficulty presented itself at the very moment of the execution of the plans: where to find a sufficient number of men to teach, in so large a number of schools, doctrines so new with a method itself so new. Does there exist in France, in Europe, on the entire earth, two or three hundred men in a position to teach the useful arts and the necessary knowledges with the methods which shall render the spirits more penetrating and the virtues more clear? This little number does not exist. It is necessary to form them. And by that circle, faulty and fatal in which human destinies always seem to revolve it seems that, in order to form them, it would be necessary already to have them.

"It is here that one must admire the genius of the National Convention. France had not yet the schools where the children of six years could learn to read and write. And you have decreed the establishment of normal schools, of schools of the highest grade of public instruction.

"What have you wished, in a word, in decreeing the first normal schools? You have wished to provide in advance for the vast plan of public instruction which is in your designs and in your resolutions, a very large number of instructors capable of being the executors of a plan which has for its end the regeneration of the human understanding in a republic of 25,000,000 men whom the democracy makes all equal.

"In these schools, it is not, therefore, the sciences which are to be taught, but rather the art of teaching them; in setting out from these schools the pupils ought to be not only instructed men but men capable of instructing others. For the first time on earth, nature, truth, reason and philosophy are to have a seminary. For the first time men the most eminent in the whole range of science, and of the most talents, men who, up to the present time, have been teachers of nothing less than nations and ages, men of genius, are going to be the first masters of a school for the people, for you will admit into these chairs none but men who are called because of unquestioned eminence throughout Europe. Here it shall not be the number who shall serve but the superiority: It is better that they be few, but that they be the elect of science and of reason." [9]

The matter thus presented on the 24th of October, 1794, was called up again on the 30th and, after some little discussion to be noted later, adopted in the following form:[1]

"The National Convention, wishing to hasten the time when she shall be able to provide, in a uniform manner, thruout the entire Republic, instruction necessary for all French citizens, decrees.

"Art. 1—There shall be established, at Paris, a Normal School whither shall be called from all parts of the Republic, citizens already

---

[7] Hippeau: Ibid., p. 413.
[8] Ibid., p. 415.
[9] Hippeau: Ibid., p. 411+.
[1] Gréard: La Legislation de L'Instruction Publique en France, 31+.

instructed in the useful sciences, to learn, under professors the most eminent of their kind, the art of teaching.

"Art. 2.—The governments of the various districts shall send to the Normal School a number of students proportioned to the population, the basis of apportionment being one student for each 20,000 people.

"Art. 3.—The officers shall be allowed to choose as students only those citizens who can unite to good morals an approved patriotism and an aptness both to receive and impart instruction.

"Art. 4.—The students of the Normal School shall not be under twenty-one years of age.

"Art. 5.—They shall present themselves at Paris before the close of the month frimaire. (Nov. 22nd-Dec. 21st.) They shall receive for their journey and for the continuance of their normal course the donation accorded to the students of the central school of public works.

"Art. 6.—The committee of public instruction shall designate the citizens whom it shall consider the most suitable for performing the functions of instructors in the Normal School, and shall submit the list of such for the approbation of the Convention. The committee, working in concert with the committee of finance, shall fix the salaries.

"Art. 7.—The instructors shall give lessons to the students on the art of teaching morals, and of forming the character of the young republicans as to the practice of public and private virtues.

"Art. 8.—They shall teach them to apply to the teaching of Reading, Writing, the first elements of Arithmetic, practical Geometry, History and French Grammar, the methods outlined in the elementary books, and adopted by the National Convention and published by its orders.

"Art. 9.—The duration of the normal course shall be at least four months.

"Art. 10.—Two representatives of the people, designated by the National Convention, shall frequently visit the Normal School and keep the committee of public instruction thoroly posted on all matters of interest to that important establishment.

"Art. 11.—The students formed at that republican school shall return, at the close of the course, into their respective districts; they shall open in the chief city of the canton designated by the administration of the district a Normal School whose object shall be to transmit to the citizens, both men and women, who shall be willing to devote themselves to public instruction, the methods of teaching which they shall have acquired in the Normal School at Paris.

"Art. 12.—These new courses shall be of at least four months duration.

"Art. 13.—The normal schools of the departments shall be under the supervision of properly constituted authorities.

"Art. 14.—The committee of public instruction shall be charged with the work of drawing up the plans of these national schools, and of determining the mode of teaching which ought to be followed there.

"Art. 15.—Each decade the committee of public instruction shall render an account to the convention of the condition of the Normal School at Paris and of the secondary normal schools which shall be established in execution of the present decree thruout the entire extent of the Republic."

The recommendation did not call forth the discussion that it would seem to merit. What there was touched upon only minor points.[2]

---

[2]In chapters II, III and IV, where quotations are not definitely referred the reference is to "Le Moniteur," a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1789-1848. Tomes 22, 23 and 24, Réimpression of 1860.

Lefiot thought it folly "to begin the edifice at the top." Before forming teachers he said they better know exactly what was to be taught, and suggested postponement until the elementary books, then under preparation, should be completed. Thibault called for information as to the writers of these books saying, "I value talent but much more morality. It is not rare to see scoundrels write on morals. Robespierre spoke only on virtue, Couthon on justice." He was apparently satisfied when told that among the writers were Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and LaGrange who were writing, respectively, on morals and geometry. Sargent observed that the term, four months, fixed by article nine, was too short, saying, "Unless the men selected as professors are charlatans or fools they cannot, in four months, attain the end in view." He asked that the time be made one year. Collat D'Herbois replied, "If the term is too short the instruction will be imperfect; if you prolong it you will not satisfy the impatience of those who are demanding schools." Grégiore suggested the wisdom of not deciding upon any definite time, but leaving that to developments. The words "at least" were added to the original draft.

The recommendation carried the signature of the entire committee of public instruction but yet the members were not in entire accord. Thibaudeau, for example, maintaining in open discussion as against the recommendation he had signed, that the sole purpose of the school was to teach the best methods of teaching reading, writing, arithmetic and morals in the primary schools.

Such was the recommendation of the committee of public instruction offered by its president, and such the character of the discussion upon it. When we take into consideration the circumstances of the time and then glance again thru the articles we cannot be surprised either that it was not discussed more fully or that it has since received much adverse criticism. It was clearly in keeping with the dominant spirit. The estimate of M. Barante is not far from fair:

"Such was the lofty and chimerical intoxication of the revolutionary philosophy. She thought she had arrived at an hour when she was going to accomplish a new creation of human nature, to change the conditions of the soul, the laws of reason and intelligence. Wishing to reform society and to give to it conditions other than had prevailed, it did right to begin by changing man himself." [3]

The decree was passed on the 30th of October. Thirteen days later, November 12th, in accordance with Article 10, the two representatives were chosen—Lakanal and Sieyès. The latter, however, declining to act, the place was later filled by Deleyre. This committee was faithful in the performance of its duties watching over the school, as Liard says, "with the affection of a father."

Following closely the spirit of Article 6 and the interpretation of the same by Lakanal, eminent men were selected to act as professors. From that standpoint the list cannot well receive adverse criticism. Hardly a man but had already received great distinction, some of them even a hundred years later standing out as great mountain peaks in their respective lines. I greatly doubt if ever before or since any institution could present for its time a more illustrious faculty. The wisdom of the selections may, however, from another standpoint be questioned. Teachers were being secured for a normal school; the instruction was to be given to teachers, yea, teachers of teachers, and yet as

[3] Barante: Histoire de la Convention Nationale, VI: 78.

Liard says, "they entrusted this pedagogical instruction not to teachers skilled in the art, but to wise men of genius, to scholars of talent." [4]

The following is a list of the chairs and their incumbents:

Mathematics—LaGrange and LaPlace.
Physics—Hauy.
Natural History—Daubenton.
Chemistry—Berthollet.
Agriculture—Thouin.
Geography—Buache and Mentelle.
History—Volney
Ethics—Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.
Descriptive Geometry—Monge.
Grammar—Sicard.
Analysis of the Understanding—Garat.
Literature—LaHarpe.
Political Economy—Vander Monde.

[4]Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieur en France, I: 269.

CHAPTER III.

ORGANIZATION AND OPENING OF THE NORMAL SCHOOL.

In spite of the fact that the country was not especially prepared for any such legislation as this, and that the decree was presented and passed within six days and practically without discussion; and tho less than two months was allowed from the time of its first introduction to the time set for the assembling of the students in Paris; in spite of all this, by the appointed time the students were there, nearly 1400 strong. This ready and enthusiastic response seems little less than marvelous. Nor could it well have happened in any country save France. And even there it needs explanation. I can think of no better explanation than that suggested by Barante in ascribing it to the feeling of relief and of new courage brought in by the coming to an end of the terrible "Reign of Terror." His words are worth quoting: "When the names of the professors were given out, when after two years of barbarism, after the silence and suffocation of thought imposed by the Terror, they saw reappear the first glimmer which announced the liberty and leisure rendered to the spirit, the nourishment tendered to its activity, the public took a lively interest."[1] The people were rejoiced to welcome a sign of better times. Exaggerated notions were formed of what the new school was to be and do, and there followed an immediate scramble for appointment.

Nor had the committee been idle. They had given the matter considerable thought and had mapped out not only a program but as well a general method of procedure which they thought would best enable the school to perform the function for which it had been established. Let us note in the first place just what that function was, for there seem to have been differences of opinion at that time among the critics of the school, tho with the decree before us today we can see no very good reason for these differences. The decree tells us very plainly that the function was not academic but professional, that the one work was to prepare educated young men for the pedagogical management of secondary Normal Schools. That was all. The young men were to learn how to teach, and, having learned, they were to return home and transmit this knowledge to others who were to be the real teachers of the children. This being the function of the school, the program was very simple. The students were all to do the same work. There was to be no gradation, no cutting up into sections, even; simply one great class addressed by the different professors in turn. As planned, the work was not to be daily in the various subjects. Something like a careful arrangement was made. It will be remembered that already, in its hatred of everything not new, the Convention had ceased to reckon time from the beginning of the Christian era, dating now from the beginning of the new Republic. They had gone farther and changed the names of the months and even made a different division of the month than into weeks of seven days each. They had no need for the Sabbath, so could easily apply their decimal system. The month was divided into three parts of ten days each, called "decades," and the Normal School program was accommodated to that division.

The work was to begin each day at eleven o'clock and close at a quarter past three. No more than three subjects were to be handled in

[1] Barante: Histoire de la Convention Nationale, VI: 80.

any one day, and each subject was to be presented but twice during a decade, as follows:

On the first and sixth days, Mathematics, Physics and Geometry.

On the second and seventh days, Natural History, Chemistry, and Agriculture.

On the third and eighth days, Geography, History and Ethics.

On the fourth and ninth days, Grammar, Analysis of the Understanding, and Literature.

Each fifth day was to be given up to a public conference to which were to be invited learned men distinguished in letters and in arts. These conferences were planned for a general consideration of the educational situation in France, with special reference to the elementary books to be used in the schools. The last day of each decade was planned to be a sort of a holiday, but yet one that should serve a good educational end. The students were expected on these days to visit libraries, museums and other educational institutions.

On the 15th of January, 1795, Lakanal and Deleyre, speaking for the committee, outlined before the convention the work of the new school. In other schools, they claimed, the work was wholly by lecture, only the teachers being permitted to speak; there being no room for discussion much of the lecture was but poorly understood and therefore soon forgotten. In the Normal different results should be sought, making different methods necessary. That which is imparted, both the information and the methods used, should be so clearly understood, they held, that it could be repeated in all the schools of France. To bring this about the committee suggested two agencies which, tho in common use today, were undoubtedly somewhat new a hundred years ago, namely, free discussion between professor and students, and the use of text-books. The way in which they proposed to provide these agencies is seen in the following quotation which I take from *Le Moniteur* of January 2nd, 1795, being a portion of the report made by Lakanal and Deleyre:

"Stenographers, that is to say, men who write as rapidly as men speak, shall be placed within the walls of the Normal School, and everything which shall be said there shall be written down and reviewed in order to be printed and published in a journal. In the first session[2] the professors alone shall speak; in the second session of the same course, the same subjects shall be treated again and the students shall also be allowed to speak. Stenographic reports of what the professors said in the former session shall be placed in their hands one or two days in advance. In the first place the students shall question the professors, then the professors the students, and thus conferences shall be established between students and professors, between students and students, and between professors and professors. By the coöperation and harmony of these means, before passing from one subject to another, there will always bear upon that which has already been seen the second view necessary to give to ideas something of clearness, firmness and fullness. The instruction will be not the work of a single spirit but of from 1200 to 1500 spirits." [3]

It will be seen from this quotation that tho each subject was to be treated twice during each decade, in only one of the two sittings was advance work to be given, the second sitting being given up to discussion of the lecture given in the first.

These stenographic reports, I might add, were to be furnished not only to the students but, as well, to the members of the Convention, the professors, district officials, and to the agents of the Republic in foreign countries.

---

[2]That is, of each decade.

[3]Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur de la Révolution Francaise, XXIII: 249.

But these reports did not include all the text-book matter used. On the 9th of February the Convention voted 30,000 livres[4] for the purchase and distribution among the students of other necessary books.

The school opened with some ceremony and with high expectations on the 20th of January, 1795. The opening meeting was held in the grand amphitheatre of the Museum of Natural History. Lakanal read the decree creating the school, and then LaPlace, Hauy and Monge in turn gave short lectures.

But no correct picture of the school can be formed without some description of the student body. What sort of young men were attracted by the opportunities presented? What sort offered themselves for the leadership of the prospective normal schools of France? In answering such questions it must be admitted that the statements are somewhat conflicting. Still it is not difficult, I think, to reach a conclusion reasonably correct.

An interesting statement is made by Barante: "From all the provinces came men who cultivated letters, men who were engaged in the sciences. No one dreamed of becoming a village schoolmaster, but all came simply to hear the eminent masters called to be professors, planning then to take up their old course of study, their literary or scientific occupations." [5]

Another statement of some interest, tho not a very complimentary one, is that of André,[6] who says that many of the students were enlightened on some matters though very ignorant on others. But he adds, "the great majority knew nothing." As to attendance and general interest, he says that very many, either from inability or general laziness, did not attend the meetings. They accepted the pay provided and lived in idleness. Still, he admits that under the circumstances abuses were inevitable.

Le Moniteur refers to two students by name, Bougainville and Lelille. The former, a man of more than sixty years of age, had been Vice Admiral of the French Navy. At one time he had made a tour of the world and had discovered an island in the South Sea. Lelille, also, was a man of years and so generally well known that his appearance among the students called forth applause and other evidences of admiration.

"The students of the École Normale," says the editor of a current French periodical, "were made up of three classes, very distinct and about equal in number; the conformity of their political sentiments gave them their only cohesion." [7] These three classes were: (1) Primary teachers; (2) Priests and College Professors; and (3) Government Officials.

These and similar references enable us to get at least a fairly correct idea of the student body. Undoubtedly these individual mentions are exceptions. The very fact that they are thus singled out would indicate as much. André's statement is probably likewise extreme but yet in all probability tells the truth as to a certain number of the students. So, too, the impression given by Barante that the students were largely literary and scientific men who came more for a high class individual entertainment. But yet when we remember that the decree fixed the lower age limit at twenty-one and named no upper limit, also that the intellectual requirement was, "already instructed in the useful sciences," and when we add to these the other fact that for six years practically no schools or colleges had been in operation, we are compelled to conclude that the studentry was made up very largely of relatively mature men, men of learning and experience.

---

[4] About $6000.00.

[5] Barante: Histoire de la Convention Nationale, VI: 80.

[6] André: Nos Maitres Aujourd'hui, I: 267.

[7] Revue Universitaire: Tome premier, 1895, p. 354. Article "L'Ecole Normale de l'An. III." The material for this article, the writer says, was taken from "Le Centenaire de L'École Normale."

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORK OF THE NORMAL SCHOOL.

Thus equipped, the great school began its work. How did it proceed? What did it do? Did it give to its students that professional training which its founders had dimly in mind? Did it metamorphose those literary and scientific men, those primary teachers and college professors, those priests and public officials, into efficient normal school principals knowing exactly how to direct the teaching to prospective teachers of children the correct methods of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic?

To ask the question is to answer it. With the studentry and faculty as we have seen them and with the environment as we know it to have been, who could look for any outcome save that of failure? But yet the steps leading to that failure are neither uninteresting nor unimportant.

The school opened, as has been said, on the 20th of January. Tho enthusiasm ran high and expectations were extravagant, nay, possibly because of these facts, there seemed to be, for some time, no disposition to settle down to regular and thoughtful work. The lectures of the eminent professors, both in matter and manner, were far removed from what we today would plan for a similar work. But no farther removed than was the reception accorded the same by the motley crowd on the benches. The atmosphere both on the platform and on the floor was as different from that which should have prevailed as one can well imagine. It was surcharged with sentiment, emotion and passion; it was vitiated with personal vanity, class hatred and political intrigue. Everything was being run at high tension. All were sitting over a powder magazine that needed but the spark for the explosion. This was quite largely true during the entire life of the school but especially true during the first weeks. The majority of the students were mature men, yet they conducted themselves like boys, exercising no control over their feelings or impulses.

In the early days of the school occurred an incident wholly characteristic of the times as well as of the school. The students had organized themselves into a sort of deliberative assembly. Among the first matters that came before them in this capacity was a proposition to present to the Convention an address of thanks for the establishment of the school and of congratulation on its other noble works. The body was unanimous and enthusiastic in its support of the proposition but could not agree as to the wording of the address. Tho different wordings were suggested and much feeling manifested, owing to the widely different characteristics of the body they could not agree and no address was presented.

To illustrate further, let me quote again from the article in the *Revue Universitaire:*

"Seminary directors of long standing, church men of experience, college professors of note, old judges, and administrators of the departments or districts, on becoming students, once more became children. 'Who would think it?' said a journal, *La Feville de la Republique,* friendly to the Normal School, on the 16th of February, 'they have been seen even in very large numbers, vigorously to cheer when there was brought into the hall simply a tub of ice destined for experiments in chemistry.' Their admiration for their masters became at once injudicious and embarrassing. 'Almost worshiping their professors,' the same journal goes on to say, 'they deafened them by long continued applause every time they mounted the platform to give a lesson, and, during its progress, they welcomed by

the clapping of hands, every expression, every turn of phrase which seemed to them particularly happy or strong.'" [1]

The days set aside for conference, the fifth of each decade, were likewise frequently stormy and chaotic. In the early days many spoke from mere vanity, simply to draw attention to themselves or to confuse the professors. Lakanal finally appealed to them personally and publicly to better their conduct, and in these efforts he was aided by some of the more thoughtful and considerate of the students, so that the same journal could say, of a time somewhat later, "the salutary checks which they received from their colleagues have taught them to keep silent when they have nothing to say." [2]

The same improvement took place in the lecture sessions, as noted in the following:

"Little by little, fortunately, that madness disappeared. * * * * The students returned from that childish infatuation; those who occupy the benches of the amphitheatre are no longer great noisy boys; they are men worthy of the object which calls them together and worthy of the important mission which they are soon to fill in their respective departments." [3]

It is pleasing to note this change and it would be even more pleasing if one could say that the improved conditions continued through the remainder of the course. But the lapses were too many to justify such a statement. Still, it is true that a spirit of earnestness characterized much of the work.

The instruction given, too, the lectures delivered, were many of them strangely inappropriate.

Seven days after the opening, *Le Moniteur* gave some interesting notes on what was being done:

"Citizen LaPlace, in his lecture on Mathematics, took occasion tó speak of a fantastic notion of Leibnitz who, in a binary arithmetic of which he was the author, thought he had found an explanation of creation. Unity was God the Creator and zero was the world which God had made out of nothing. That weakness of spirit in a great man recalled Newton's commentary on the Apocalypse.

"The professor did not fail to attribute these errors of Leibnitz and Newton to ideas which they had received in their infancy. He then congratulated the students of the Normal School on their good fortune in being called to educate teachers and in being able to give them an education freed from all such prejudices." [4] "That reflection," *Le Moniteur* adds, "was vigorously applauded." [5]

LaPlace was followed by Hauy. "What he said on theories in general and the skillful manner in which he distinguished between systems excited lively applause. It would be difficult to speak of Physics with greater clearness or with more simplicity and elegance than did this learned and modest professor.

"During the second session of the school, Citizens Boache and Mentelle spoke on Geography, Volney on History, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre on Morals, and Daubenton on Natural History. The first three were listened to with all the attention that interest in their subjects and the celebrity of their talents could inspire. But it was especially when the good Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, when the respected Daubenton, rose to speak, it was then that unanimous and long continued applause filled the vast amphitheatre. The ear could not tire in listening to them nor the

---

[1]Revue Universitaire: Ibid., p. 365.
[2]Revue Universitaire: Ibid., p. 365.
[3]Revue Universitaire: Ibid., p. 368.
[4 5]Le Moniteur: Ibid., XXIII: 306.

eye in looking upon them. Something more than attention held the spirits; it was admiration, even love, in seeing and hearing these venerable interpreters of morals and nature. The unanimous applause which the assembly rendered to these two illustrious men, to the friends of Jean Jacques and Buffon, proved well that the students of the Normal School knew how to honor old age, talents and virtue. And that homage reflected nearly as much honor on the students as it gave to the professors who were its objects." [6]

At one session Sicard, Professor of Grammar, entertained the school with an account of the work he was doing with some deaf mutes, five of whom he had with him for the purpose of illustration. And so skillfully did he work upon the feelings of his hearers in speaking of these unfortunates that he was rewarded by seeing the most of them in tears. Nor was this the only session in which tears were shed, nor he the only one who resorted to appeals that drew them forth.

The professors gave but little, if any, time in trying to teach the art of teaching. They doubtless recognized the fact that it is much easier to prescribe such work than to do it. At any rate, as Buisson points out, they yielded to "a very natural temptation to exploit their own discoveries, or to give general scientific instruction." [7] In a word, the work was being in no sense professional; so far as it was anything it was purely academic. Thus LaPlace and LaGrange, after having begun their work in Mathematics with a lesson on enumeration, very soon passed to higher Algebra. LePlace's last lesson treated of a calculation of probabilities. Monge explained the theory of his new descriptive Geometry. M. Liard, after speaking of an interesting discussion that took place in one of the conferences, between Monge and the student Fourrier, on the relation of points, lines, planes, the sphere and the circumference, asks a pertinent question: "How many of that audience of more than a thousand students did the student Fourrier represent?" [8] Berthollet gave an account of the most recent discoveries of Chemistry. LaHarpe, under the name of literature, denounced the Jacobins. He analyzed some of Cicero's orations but simply for the purpose of finding political allusions.

Such a departure from the outlined plan could not fail to be unsatisfactory. It is not difficult for us today to see many good reasons for the departure. It is not even necessary to enumerate them, but at that time it was different. Fault soon began to be found and complaints to be made. These criticisms took various forms, some more or less amusing, as for example, a pamphlet satirizing the school under the caption, "Tower of Babel."

But in spite of fault-finding and general criticism it is probable that the work would have continued much longer and at least an attempt made to organize the secondary normal schools had there not been a change in the spirit of the Convention itself. New leaders arose, new or changed interests were being considered and it is not strange that educational enthusiasm did not continue unabated. Men, measures, institutions, were all being questioned and made to justify their existence. It was at this time that the comprehensive but impracticable schemes of Lakanal, and Condorcet were overthrown and the inferior but more practicable one of Dounou substituted. The Normal School plan also came up for treatment. The district Normal idea was declared to be a chimera and the immediate supression of the central Normal School suggested.

Finally, in open Convention, April 18th, the matter was discussed

---

[6] Le Moniteur: Ibid., XXIII: 306.
[7] Buisson: Dictionnaire-Ibid., 766.
[8] Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieur en France, I: 272.

and the committee of public instruction directed to make an investigation and present a report. The investigation was made and on April 28th the report was presented by Dounou.

The salient parts of the report I give in his own words, quoting from Buisson.[9] It will be noted that while he admits the failure of the whole scheme and advises the closing of the school he throws the responsibility for the failure elsewhere than upon the eminent faculty.

"One has to agree with those who have demanded the suppression of the school that it has not taken exactly the direction which you thought to prescribe, and that, in general, the courses of instruction up to the present time have looked more to a direct teaching of the sciences than to an exposition of the methods one ought to follow in teaching them—that they have been directed toward the heights of science rather than toward the art of teaching the elements. * * * * Perhaps in instituting the Normal School we were not careful enough to determine the object with precision. It ought especially to have been known if, in calling from all parts of France 1400 citizens, the plan was to prepare them for primary instruction, or for central professorships for the heads of the secondary Normal Schools. According as one proposed for himself one of these diverse ends there would be a very distinct goal to reach both in the choice of pupils and in the kind of teaching. It is in settling upon one of these three hypotheses that one ought to be able to discuss with some success an important question—that of knowing up to what point the art of teaching a science is in reality separable from the immediate teaching of that science itself.

"The reputation of the professors and the co-operation of very great ability among the students have caused the Normal School to be received with great enthusiasm. And that enthusiasm has since become, as is generally the case, the measure of the disfavor of which it is the object. * * * * But yet it is true that in establishing the school you were much more impressed with the plan, somewhat confused, of the transmission of the art of teaching than clear as to the mode of that transmission.

"In view of these considerations your committee thinks it necessary, at the outset, to renounce the thought of establishing the secondary Normal Schools in the departments.

"If we do not propose to suppress immediately the Normal School at Paris it is because we think that you ought to accord the delay necessary for completing the work begun."

"The Normal School has been in operation three months. Your committee recommends that you fix on May 21st as the day of closing. It is hoped that the professors, either by compressing their lectures or by giving them more frequently, will, by that time, be able to complete the course mapped out."[1]

The report was listened to with respectful attention and the following decree immediately passed without opposition:

"Art. 1.—The course of the Normal School shall be brought to a close on the 21st of May.

"Art. 2.—Those students of the Normal School who shall wish to return to their homes before the close of the work shall be permitted to do so.

"Art. 3.—The professors of the Normal School shall be required in addition to draw up or map out the elementary books for the primary schools.

---

[9]Dounou's report is also found in Liard, Ibid., I: 273+, and in Le-Mointeur, XXIV: 315.

[1]Buisson: Dictionnaire, p. 767.

"Art. 4.—The professors who shall not have completed their work by May 1st shall furnish the material for the remainder for the Journal of the Normal School, which remainder shall be furnished gratuitously to all the students." [2]

The last session of the school was held on the 16th day of May, five days before the limit set in the decree. Few if any of the courses, however, were fully completed at that time. I add a list of the number of lessons given by each of the professors. It will easily be seen that, as Buisson puts it, they "did not all apply the same zeal to their teaching."

LaPlace and LaGrange, Mathematics, each 14; Monge, Descriptive Geometry, 7; Hauy, Physics, 14; Buache and Mentelle, Geography, each 16; Volney, History, 5; Daubenton, Natural History, 18; Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Morals, 1; Sicard, Grammar or Art of Speech, 25; Garat, Analysis of the Understanding, 2; LaHarpe, Literature, 6; Berthollet, Chemistry, 13; Vandermonde, Political Economy, 8; Thouin, Agriculture, 0.[3]

As a matter of fact, the conditions that prevailed during the last weeks of the course were somewhat similar to those of the first weeks. Irregularity in attendance on part of both students and teachers, lack of interest due to criticism and threatened closure, and general dissatisfaction bred an atmosphere that absolutely prevented anything like good work. The article in the Revue Universitaire, already cited, is interesting on this point. I give a brief quotation:

"Four courses only, those of Daubenton, of Hauy, of Buache and of Mentelle, were almost exactly conformed to their programs. Only those professors gave in four months anywhere near what they had outlined. The others were so completely possessed of the idea of a school of higher culture, that they had not carefully estimated their time, on the supposition that, by the very necessity of the case, the school would have to be continued as long as they had anything to say." [4]

At the close all seemed to regret that the shortness of time rendered them unable to complete the work planned. They explained their shortcoming each according to his own temperament. As an example, I will speak briefly of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. Tho he was so enthusiastically received at the opening of the work, he did not again appear till the school was nearing its close, and then but to explain his long silence and to counteract what he considered erroneous positions taken by some of his colleagues. The Convention had instructed him, he said, to write a manual of Republican morals, and as the entire time was much too short he could not make it still shorter by using a portion of it in lecturing. Barante, however, suggested another reason: "He had no skill to improvise, perhaps also he thought that to teach morals in the way of a science was faulty and impracticable." [5] The Revue Universitaire suggests still another reason: "The truth is that he did not wish to teach by the side of wise men whom he disliked and whose systems he had attacked." [6]

The Journal to which reference has often been made, has been the subject of considerable speculation. Was it ever kept? Has it been preserved? The lectures and discussions were printed and distributed somewhat as the plan has been outlined. Printing enterprise was also in evidence in offering for sale to those not entitled to free copies, the

---

[2]Buisson; Ibid., p. 767.
[3]Buisson: Ibid., p. 767.
[4]Revue Universitaire: Ibid., p. 368.
[5]Barante: Histoire de la Convention Nationale, VI: 81.
[6]Revue Universitaire: Ibid., p. 369.

sheets as they appeared from day to day. An advertisement to that effect appeared in Le Moniteur at the very opening of the school offering to furnish the Journal in installments of at least one sheet a day at the rate of 50 livres[7] for 125 sheets.

As to the original authorized edition I have not been able to learn anything very definite. Buisson says, "We have not had in our hands the original edition of the Journal of the Normal School." There was, however, an edition printed in 1800 under the title "Sittings and Debates of the Normal Schools collected by the stenographers and revised by the professors." This edition consists of thirteen volumes, ten for the sittings and three for the debates, with an atlas added. The lectures given in the Normal School, however, fill only six of the ten volumes, the other four containing later works by the same authors. Volume VIII contains an epitome of the Celestial Mechanics of LaPlace, by Biot, and the beginning of a course in Agriculture by Thouin; Volume VIII, some fragments of a Natural History by Daubenton and Lacepede and a continuation of a course in Agriculture by Thouin; Volume IX, a lesson on Chemistry by Berthollet, dated 1800, and the conclusion of the course on Agriculture by Thouin; Volume X, lessons on calculation of functions taught in the Polytechnique School by LaGrange in 1798. The second half of Volume III of the Debates is taken up with memoranda of Hauy on Mineralogy.[8]

So the Normal School was discontinued. It seems to have had sort of a mushroom existence—springing up in a night and under the fierce glare of the noonday withering away. But let us see—was its short existence of no value? Let the question be answered by eminent Frnch writers on educational matters. Compayré says: "It is true that it was almost immediately closed when opened, but the idea already entertained by Rolland was worked out and Napoleon had only to take it up in order to make a durable establishment." [9]

Dounou in the report already mentioned called attention to some good results. Speaking of the general effect upon the students he says: "On the whole, one should say that they have appreciated a horizon more vast, experienced sensations more profound, conceived thoughts more able and more extended, and if, from all causes, it has not resulted exactly as planned, nevertheless it is indisputably true that a great salutary impulse has been given to instruction." [8] Speaking of the content of the instruction he adds, "Till now public instruction had been a half century in arrears of the progress of human spirit. Today the lessons of the professors of the Normal School bring into the instruction all the discoveries with which the sciences and arts are enriched; they raise much public instruction to the level of the actual state of knowledge." [1]

Barante, in speaking of the school, says: "The Normal School in no way accomplished the purpose, vague and illusory, which the father of the decree calling it into existence had marked out; but its brief existence is an epoch in the history of letters and of science in France. It did not busy itself with giving nor either of seeking for that universal mode of instruction, that elementary formula of all human knowledges which so charmed the imagination of the new philosophers, but it was a delight, an exhileration to cultivated spirits; it revived the taste for intellectual pleasures. That numerous body quickly drawn from all parts of France; that coming together of men filled with love of letters

[7] About $10.00.
[8] Buisson: Ibid., p. 767.
[9] Compayré: Les Doctrines de l'Education, II: 313.
[1] Buisson: Ibid., p. 767.

or of science; those oral lessons which had all the attraction of extemporaneous speech; * * * * those conferences between the teachers and the students, some of whom later made names for themselves in the literary world; those exact sciences up to that time taught only in their elementary and practical parts, now lectured upon for the first time by the most eminent scholars of Europe; Monge, whose speech was so clear and so interesting, demonstrating descriptive Geometry of which he was making a new body of science; Garat, that elegant and luminous expounder of the philosophy of Condillac who was then ruling with unquestioned authority; LaHarpe, who had already attained so great success in his courses in the Lyceum; Volney, that ingenious scholar, but yet systematic in his researches in history; such was the spectacle which that passing, that transient, institution presented, an institution born from the hazard of the Revolution. During three months it had the unlooked for good fortune of diverting the public from the stormy debates of the Convention and from the daily anxieties of famine." [2]

From many of a similar character I quote only one more, but one that calls attention to a very significant fact. "With some exceptions the wise men interested in the advancement of science formerly formed in France a class totally distinct from the teaching class. In calling the foremost geometers, the most distinguished natural philosophers, the most eminent naturalists of the world to professorships, the Convention cast about the teaching profession an unusual glory.—In the eyes of the public a title which had been borne by such men as LaGrange, LaPlace, Monge and Berthollet, became with good reason equal to titles the most lofty." [3]

---

[2]Barante: Histoire de la Convention Nationale, VI: 80.

[3]Biot: Histoire des Sciences pendant la Révolution, quoted by L. Liard: Ibid., I: 275.

CHAPTER V.

REORGANIZATION UNDER NAPOLEON.

If I were writing a history of education in France it would be necessary to trace very carefully the efforts made looking toward a realization of the plan outlined by Dounou in 1795, also to note additions that were made from time to time and to see exactly what was being done thruout the various parts of the realm. But my purpose being quite different from that, I shall mention such matters only so far as necessary to make my own portion of the subject clear.

In a former chapter I called attention to Dounou's plan of an educational system which became a law of the land on October 27th, 1795. It is hardly necessary to say that even tho less comprehensive than those introduced earlier it was not at once put into operation. Time was required, much time when one takes into consideration political, economic and social conditions.

But these conditions were not taken into consideration by the people of the times who were clamoring for educational advantages. They complained that these advantages were not so good as before the Revolution and no doubt that was true. Rose, in his "Life of Napoleon," says of the educational work of the Revolution: "Those ardent reformers did little more than clear the ground for future action. They abolished the old monastic and clerical training, and declared for a generous system of national education in primary, secondary and advanced schools. But amid strifes and bankruptcy their aims remained unfulfilled." [1]

Even tho one may see that theoretically great advances had been made, as I have already pointed out, nevertheless he must admit that for several years no improvements can be seen; he must even admit that matters seemed to be going from bad to worse as suggested by another statement made by Rose: "In 1799 there were only 24 elementary schools open in Paris, with a total enrollment of less than 1000 pupils: and in rural districts matters were equally bad. The revolutionists had merely traced the outlines of a system. It remained for the First Consul to fill in the details or to leave it blank." [2]

These statements are no doubt true, and looking back upon the period we can see much better than the average man of the period who had children to educate how such a situation was both natural and inevitable. But because they could not see it and were impatient for results complaints were heard on all sides. So great was the dissatisfaction that in 1801 the Councils General were summoned to consider the educational situation.

In their discussions and considerations there seems to have been a clear recognition of the chief cause of this weakness, namely, that the teaching bodies, the educational interests, were no longer bound together, they no longer formed a unity as very largely they had in each one of the old religious teaching congregations.[3]

In 1802 and again in 1804 bills were introduced trying to remedy defects clearly seen. But it was not till 1806 that a decisive step was taken looking to the betterment of public instruction. On that day an

---

[1]Rose: Life of Napoleon, I: 272.
[2]Rose: Ibid., I: 272.
[3]Compayré: History of Pedagogy, p. 509.

Imperial decree was passed which took the direction of educational matters out of the hands of the local committees making it a "function of the State on the same basis as the administration of justice or the organization of the army." [4]

The entire decree runs as follows:

"May 10th, 1806.

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the declarations of the Republic, Emperor of the French, to all present and to come—greeting.

"The legislative body, hereby renders, May 10th, 1806, the following decree, in accordance with a proposition made in the name of the Emperor, after having heard both the speakers of the Council of State and of the sections of the Tribunal the same day.

"Decreed.

"Art. 1.—There shall be formed under the name of the Imperial University a body charged exclusively with instruction and with public education in the whole empire.

"Art. 2.—The members of the teaching body shall enter into civil obligations, special and temporary.

"Art. 3.—The organization of the teaching body shall be presented in the form of law, to the legislative body, at the session of 1810." [5]

The regular organization was thus to be postponed four years, but without any explanation that I can find for the change of plan the matter was taken up in two years and the organization quite carefully worked out.

This "Imperial University," it may be well to remark, was not to be an educational institution such as we connect with the term university, like Michigan University, or Chicago University, an institution made up of certain colleges as literary, law, medicine, &c.. having a definite and permanent home and administered by a president and faculty. It was rather to be the sum total of the educational institutions of France, to include within itself all the educational activities of the entire empire—primary, secondary and higher. It was in fact to be, and today is, the educational system of France. Now, within it, or, better stated, a part of it, we find the old Normal School of Revolution days revived and reconstituted on lines very similar to those of 1795.

Before taking up the portion of the decree dealing specifically with the Normal School I quote a few articles touching the University as a whole. This celebrated decree bears the date, March 17th, 1808.

"Art. 1.—Public instruction thruout the entire empire is confined exclusively to the University.

"Art. 2.—No school, no establishment whatever of instruction may be formed outside of the Imperial University and without the authorization of its head.

"Art. 3.—No one may open a school, no one may teach publicly without being a member of the Imperial University and graduated from one of its faculties." [6]

Passing on now to the articles bearing on the Normal School, I quote from Barrau:

"Art. 110.—There shall be established at Paris a Normal Boarding School planned to receive as many as 300 young men who shall there be educated in the art of teaching letters and science.

"Art. 111.—The inspectors of the academy shall select, each year, from the lyceums, upon examination, a certain number of young men of at least 17 years of age from among those whose advancement and

---

[4] Compayré: Ibid., p. 511.

[5] Gréard: La Législation de l'Instruction Primaire en France, I: 52.

[6] Gréard: Ibid., I: 53.

good conduct have been most satisfactory and who shall have shown the greatest aptitude for management and teaching.

"Art. 112.—The students who shall present themselves for examination must have the consent of their fathers or guardians to pursue the university course. They shall not be received into the Normal Boarding School except upon agreeing to remain at least ten years in the teaching profession.

"Art. 113.—These students shall pursue their studies at the Collège of France, at the Polytechnic School or at the Museum of Natural History according as they shall plan to teach letters or some of the sciences.

"Art. 114.—The students, aside from their regular work, shall have in the Normal Boarding School, tutors chosen from among the older and more capable of their own number, to assist them either in reviewing the subjects taught in the special schools mentioned above, in the special experimental work in physics and chemistry or in practical work in the art of teaching.

"Art. 115.—The students shall not remain at the Normal Boarding School longer than two years. They shall there be maintained at the expense of the University and admitted into a common life in accordance with the regulation that the grand master of the University shall make.

"Art. 116.—The Normal Boarding School shall be under the immediate supervision of one of the life counselors who shall reside at the school. There shall be under him a Director of Studies.

"Art. 117.—The number of students to be received each year in lyceums and to be sent forward to the Normal Boarding School shall be determined by the grand master in accordance with the conditions and needs of the colleges and lyceums.

"Art. 118.—The students during the two years course of their study at the Normal Boarding School or at its close must take their degrees at Paris either in the department of letters or of science.

They shall then be appointed by the Grand Master to fill vacancies as they occur in the Academies." [7]

On March 30th, 1810, the organization was completed thru legislation upon the number and duties of the officials, the wardrobe of the students and the general disciplinary regulations of the school; and on May 29th a statute was passed arranging in detail the economic administration which was put into the hands of the Counselor.

Thru a carefully worked out plan of budgets, detailed estimates, committee discussions, receipts, checks and counter checks, the Counselor and Steward on part of the Normal School and Grand Master and Treasurer on part of the University, together with a "commission extraordinaire" which was to visit the school annually in January, the Normal school expenses were provided for and in turn expenditures accounted for.

The leading officials decided upon with the salaries (fixed a little later, however, May 29, 1810) were as follows: Counselor, 6000 francs; Director of Studies, 5000 francs; Chaplain, 2500 francs; Superintending Masters ("Ushers"), 1500 francs; Steward, 3000 francs; Tutors, salaries to be fixed by Grand Master and Counselor.

The Director of Studies, chaplain, tutors, superintending masters, and steward were also boarded from the fact that they were required to live at the school in close contact with the students.

We are a little surprised to find the minute regulations that prevailed as to clothing. But the matter received careful and detailed attention. On entering the school each student was provided with a ward

[7] Barrau: Législation de l'Instruction Publique, p. 371.

robe all new and carefully marked with his name. The articles furnished were supposed to be sufficient for the entire stay at school. If more was needed it had to be purchased at the expense of the student.

The disciplinary regulations, rightly called "police," are equally different from our thought of today. In all these minute prescriptions and prohibitions we see at work a spirit vastly different from that manifested in the Normal School of the Revolution. We simply need to remember that France, at this period, was not a Republic but that the hand of a Napoleon was directing the affairs of state. Nothing was left to the initiative of the individual student either as to dress, conduct, use of time or even to the wearing of the clothing provided.

Taine has not overdrawn the matter in saying, "Every hour of the day has its prescribed task: all exercises including religious observances, are prescribed, each in time and place, with a detail and minuteness as if purposely to close all possible issues to personal initiative and everywhere substitute mechanical uniformity for individual diversities." [8]

I add a few of these "police" regulations: Each student roomed alone and "could not receive a visitor." (Either a fellow student or parent), "without the consent of the usher." "When the students are in their rooms the keys must be in the doors (on the outside) "so that the Usher may enter as often as he thinks best,"——"There shall be no fires in the private rooms," only in the general halls. "Meals begin and close with prayer during which the students stand."——"The Ushers eat at the same table and at the same time as the students."——"Individual leaves of absence are not granted. General walks may be taken in the company of the Ushers."——"Students are not allowed to leave the building unless dressed in uniform."——"All sports and dangerous exercise, all games of cards and of chance are forbidden." All these and many others may be summed up and explained in another: "The principal duties of the students are respect for religion, loyalty to the sovereign and the government, sustained application, unvarying regularity, docility and submission to superiors. Whoever fails in these requirements is punished according to the gravity of the fault." [9]

Somewhat detailed methods of punishment were prescribed, but as an inducement to good conduct this section of the statute closed with a provision for rewarding good conduct: "At the close of the Normal course the Director shall report to the Grand Master the ten students most worthy and commendable for their success and good conduct. These students are presented to the Grand Master; their names also are made public in the Academies which sent them. They shall be allowed to remain at the school a third year, in order to devote themselves wholly to the particular work in which they are interested. They shall receive from that time the title and salary of a fellow or supernumerary professor; they shall perform in the school the functions of repeaters; that position shall be equivalent, for their advancement, to a professorship in the lower schools." [1]

The daily program was carefully mapped out and religiously followed. Every moment of the working day, from five o'clock in the morning until ten at night, was passed under the watchful eye of the ever present Usher, and every moment accounted for.

And why, one might ask, all these rules and regulations? Why these prescriptions and restrictions that really prevent anything like a true educational process the growth and development of the free spirit within?

---

[8]Taine: Modern Regime, II: 158.
[9]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 782.
[1]Rendu: Ibid., p. 784.

And that question might be prefaced by another, Why a Normal School at all?

The answers are easily given. It was not because educational experts, from a profound knowledge of the human mind and the laws of its development, had thus advised. Far from it. Educational experts were not consulted. It was the work of a *Napoleon*, and not merely *a* Napoleon but of NAPOLEON. He did not want educated men, only trained men. There was no room in Napoleon's France for freely developed or freely developing spirits. He wanted men trained to obey, who themselves would know how to train others to obey, and so he planned his Normal School. And so he said, "Make professors for me, and not littérateurs, wits or seekers or inventors in any branch of knowledge."[2] Again he said of the University as a whole: "In the establishment of an educational corps my principal aim is to secure the means for directing political and moral opinions."[3] In a word, as Taine says, "It is for himself that he works, for himself alone."

Or, as Larousse, speaking of this Normal School, as compared with the one of the Convention, puts it: "Napoleon, in his new plans, wished, however, a similar institution, but for himself alone, for the perpetuity of his system of government, for the perpetuity of his dynasty—a sort of college of cardinals under his dependence and devoted to him, charged with the preparation for him of priests, apostles of the Napoleonic religion which he wished to found. He needed a Normal School, *his* Normal School. The hopes, the aspirations of the Convention could not be his: the general interest of civilization had inspired those, personal and dynastic interest had inspired these."[4]

How else can we understands such words as these spoken by Napoleon himself? "I want a corporation, not of Jesuits whose sovereign is in Rome, but of Jesuits who have no ambition but to be useful and no interest but the interest of the state."[5]

How else can we understand such as these? "All the schools belonging to the University shall take for the basis of their teaching loyalty to the Emperor, to the imperial monarchy to which the happiness of the people is confided, and to the Napoleonic dynasty which preserves the unity of France and of all liberal ideas proclaimed by the Constitution."[6]

How else understand this article of the new church catechism adopted for the empire and to be used in all the schools? "We especially owe to Napoleon First, our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the dues prescribed for the preservation and defence of the Empire and the throne. For it is he whom God has raised up in times of difficulty, to restore public worship and the holy religion of our forefathers, and to be its protector."[7]

Why such prescriptions and restrictions? In a word, that the schools of France might furnish for her Emperor a nation of soldiers with which he might conquer the world. And to this end how well did the central thoughts, the fundamental pivots, of his Normal School plan—common cloistral life with no free outside touch, military discipline, private instructions, and a ten year engagement to the University service—how well did they all minister!

---

[2]Taine: Modern Régime, II: 182.
[3]Taine: Ibid., II: 140.
[4]Larousse: Grand Dictionnaire Universel du 19 eSiecle, VII: 113.
[5]Taine: Modern Régime, II: 152, quoted in note.
[6]Taine: Ibid., p. 161, quoted.
[7]D'Haussonville: L'Englise Romaine et le Premier Empire, II: 257, 266, quoted by Taine: Ibid., II: 175.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL FROM 1810 TO 1830.

And thus was the old Normal School reorganized and reestablished. It was opened in November, 1810, installed in the old buildings of the College of Plessis, a kind of branch establishment of the College of Louis le Grand, an Imperial Lyceum. Bernard Guéroult was at the head as Counsellor, he who later became the distinguished professor of Rhetoric at the College of Harcourt.

A glance at the decree, especially at Article 113, tells us much as to the original plan of instruction. It was to be given not in the Normal School itself but in the College of France, the Polytechnic School, and in the Museum of Natural History. The students were to live their common life at the Normal School but to be marched to and from these other institutions for instruction in the various studies. But somewhat otherwise did it turn out. The men into whose hands was placed the administration of the school, Fontanes, Grand Master of the University, and the Imperial Council of Education, thought it a mistake to form instructors for the University in establishments having nothing in common with the University, so they directed differently.

The decree of 1808 had created the Faculties, both for Paris and the Departments, but seemingly with little, as yet, for them to do. This was especially true of the Faculties of Letters and of Sciences. In Paris these Faculties were constituted with, the former thirteen, and the latter fourteen members. In the main these men were competent and broad minded, much more so than those in the special schools mentioned. Seeing them, then, with little to do and knowing their capability, Fontanes and the Imperial Council thought to utilize them for the purposes of the Normal School. These two Faculties were then located in the same buildings as the Normal School and really became its teachers.

This arrangement accounts for several things. In the first place it accounts for the very different careers of the Paris and the Department Faculties—but this is a matter aside which space forbids me more than mention. It also accounts, at least in part, for the fact that the Normal School was not to a very large extent strictly a professional school. The Normal students formed only a portion of a larger studentry and tho efforts were made to adapt the work to their needs, it could not be done altogether without too great a sacrifice of the others.

Both institutions were gainers and losers; it might be hard to say in either case on which side the balance would fall. The Normal School gained thru having a stronger, freer and more liberal teaching body than would otherwise have been provided; it lost in the sacrifice of its own specific, legitimate character of a pedagogical institution. It really became an academic instead of a professional school.

The Paris Faculties of Letters and of Sciences which had thus been affiliated with the Normal School gained through having always a studentry and an audience, since the Normal students formed a nucleus amound which gathered many that would not otherwise have been interested. They did not therefore die of inanition as so many of the Department Faculties came near doing. Their only loss was in the swerving of their work to meet the needs of the Normal students, which really was but slight.

The studies do not look especially pedagagical as we glance them thru. They were, in the early years, botany, mathematics, astronomy, mechanics,

mineralogy, natural philosophy, chemistry, vegetable physics, zoology, philosophy, history of philosophy, history of literature, French poetry and eloquence, Latin poetry and eloquence, Greek literature, ancient and modern history, and geography.

The school opened with 37 students. In two years the number had reached 77 and the school was engaging the careful attention of many, including Napoleon himself. In this year he planned a new building for its accommodation, a building to be located on the left bank of the Seine and to be in every way suited to its needs and worthy of the great place the school was destined to fill in the educational future of the Empire. He even issued an order for its erection. But this, like many another of the great plans of the great Napoleon, was not carried out. The school had to wait many years and was destined to pass thru many vicissitudes before it was worthily housed. It was, however, in the next year, 1813, provided with better quarters by being transferred to the Seminary of the Holy Ghost.

An incident showing that the work of the school was looked upon by Napoleon as very important is seen in the passage, in 1811, of an act which exempted the students from military service.

We recall that the purpose of the Normal School was to furnish teachers for the lycées and the colleges. It could not of course at once fill all these places, but it soon became more nearly able to do so and as rapidly as possible matters were shaped with that end in view. In 1813 a circular was issued bearing directly upon this point. This circular, or a portion of it, I quote from Taine: "The number of places that chance to fall vacant from year to year, in the various University establishments, sensibly diminishes according as the organization of the teaching body becomes more complete and regular in its operation, as order and discipline are established, and as education becomes graduated and proportionate to diverse localities. The moment has thus arrived for declaring that the Normal School is henceforth the only road by which to enter upon the career of public instruction, it will suffice for all the needs of the service." [1]

The school at this time could not, of course, "suffice for all the needs of the service," but Napoleon wanted it to, hence the circular. Indeed, it never has, from that day to this, been able to supply the teachers needed in the lycées and colleges. Napoleon's circular became a dead letter and later other "roads" were definitely opened. But as far as possible, thru the selection of teachers, thru the arrangement of studies, and thru the "police" regulations, he kept his hand on this school, knowing well that with his stamp upon the teachers of France the product of the schools was sure to be to his liking.

But to all the details Napoleon could not attend, his hands being too full of governmental and military affairs. His agents, differing somewhat from his own special views, tho in the main loyal, gave the institution a wider scope and a more liberal turn than he would have wished. Later he realized this but when too late to make a change. At St. Helena he complained that his agents had spoiled all his plans by departing from his instructions. And again, his ruling days were being rapidly numbered and did not long survive the issuance of the circular just quoted. His abdication followed, and under the Restoration the school, thus partially prepared, began to breathe a purer air and to live a less restricted life.

The Restoration, it is true, was but the return to power of the Bourbon dynasty, a King taking the seat vacated by the Emperor. But this King, tho he believed as fully in absolutism as did the Emperor, and tho he was as unscrupulous, did not possess that clearness of intellectual

[1] Taine: Modern Régime, II: 159.

vision, that masterly strength of mind and will that enabled the latter to see with unerring eye the strategic points and to utilize them for the accomplishment of his comprehensive purposes. The Normal School was no longer even indirectly directed by a single hand for a single end, but was allowed to continue and be shaped by its friends in such a way as to begin its preparation for the performance of its own true and proper function. Under the supervision of Roger-Collard, President of the Commission of Public Instruction, it was reorganized in 1815, planned on a broader scale and placed on a better footing.

It was no longer, as very largely it had been thus far, simply an annex to the Paris Faculties of Letters and of Sciences with no real personality of its own, no faculty and no appropriate courses of study. It now received a regular faculty with additional lecturers on special subjects "equal in rank to the first professors in the Imperial Colleges." A year was added to the course, making it now three, the third being planned for special pedagogical study, taking up, for example, the writings of such as Jouvency, Rollin and Fleury.

In many ways the outlook seemed brighter, the school seemed to be coming into its own and her friends looked forward to an uninterrupted career of great usefulness. For two or three years the progress of events seemed to justify the hopes. But unexpected difficulties arose. The school seemed to be losing favor with the government, nor is the reason difficult to find. I have already indicated that even before the close of Napoleon's career there was in the school under the supervision of Fontanes and the teaching of the Faculty of Paris a spirit of liberalism somewhat in contrast to the spirit of absolutism dominant in both the Empire and the Kingdom following. I might have put that more strongly; let me do so in the words of Liard, who, in speaking of the school at this time, says: "Little by little with the Faculty of Letters, around the nucleus formed by the students of the Normal School, there formed a large gathering; little by little the narrow confines of the College of Plessis * * * * became a rendezvous for all those men, both mature and growing, who in those days of silence and servitude preserved a care for free thought and independent speech. Already the chair of the professor is becoming a tribunate." [2]

I suppose it is true, in spite of the efforts of Napoleon to the contrary, that the spirit of the school had all the time been, as Larousse says, "liberal, democratic, and free thinking." There is certainly no doubt that too much freedom of teaching and of thought was enjoyed to please a Bourbon. The work was allowed to continue, however, tho under suspicion. The improvements and extensions planned were not all made and in many ways the work was being seriously hampered.

In 1821 the school was ordered removed to the Sorbonne, but the removal did not take place, as orders of a different nature followed close. More and more it was being looked upon as a "nest of liberalism," and was criticized as fomenting "a spirit of insubordination and ambitious pretensions" political and religious. The clergy was especially bitter in its denunciation. Dangerous to their very existence, they thought, was this spirit of free thought and free investigation which the Normal School people were daring to turn even to religious matters. The need of suppressing this "heresy breeding," "atheistic," "Jacobinian" "nursery of free thinkers" was openly advocated both by the clergy and the radical royalists. But its friends were still strong enough to prevent the fatal blow. In this same year, 1821, the Minister of the Interior, M. Corbiére, secured the passage of an ordinance which was favored, at least not opposed, by friends and enemies alike of the Normal School. The former seemed to think

[2]Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieure en France, II: 134.

that the threatened suppression would thereby be prevented, the latter that it would be hastened. I refer to the ordinance looking toward the formation of what were called "partial normal schools." It bears the date February 27, 1821, and is, in part, as follows:

"Art. 24.—There shall be established partial normal schools, near the Royal Colleges of Paris which shall be boarding schools, also near the Royal Colleges of the chief place of each Academy.

"Art. 26.—The course of study for these shall be four years. Some of those who complete it shall remain for two years as Ushers in the college where they shall have been pupils. The others shall be sent to the great Normal School at Paris.

"Art. 27.—All the students of the partial normal schools shall be as those of the great Normal School at Paris, and in keeping with Article 112 of the decree of March 17, 1808, under obligation to remain in the teaching profession for ten years." [3]

In advocacy of his measure M. Corbiére said: "In these schools a small number of select pupils shall be prepared from childhood in those studies and habits which belong to the grave and serious profession to which they are destined. Candidates so trained will not disdain subordinate studies, and thus there will prevail throughout the whole body of teachers the spirit of order and conservatism." [4]

But in this measure the friends of the Normal School were disappointed. The hostility had not ceased. The open antagonism was not abated. The school was attacked by a powerful party and was soon forced to bow before the storm. The blow came in a brief ordinance dated September 9, 1822, which is thus worded: "The great Normal School of Paris is suppressed; it shall be replaced by the Partial Normal Schools of the Academies." [5]

The immediate occasion of the ordinance was a burst of applause given by the school on the bestowal of certain honors upon the laureate Jordan, son of the liberal deputy, Camille Jordan. But as Liard says, "This was only a pretext. In the suppression they wished to destroy the source of ideas and of liberalism." [6] This same thought was voiced by a historian of the times who says: "That suppression announces the intention to direct public education according to a system contrary to that which has favored, since 1789, the increase of intelligence in the middle classes." [7]

The suppression, too, was intended to be permanent. It was not like that of the Faculty of Medicine which occurred about the same time or that of the University as a whole, in 1815, which was planned to be only temporary, as steps necessarily preliminary to a rearrangement. The nine professors, among whom were Cousin, Jouffroy and Burnouf, and fifty-eight students were scattered; the library was removed and placed at the headquarters of the Academy; all equipment, laboratory instruments, etc., were given to the Faculty of Science, and the doors firmly closed. The "École Normale" had ceased to be. The professors and students, however, continued to receive their regular salaries and fellowship fees for two years.

But the partial normal schools were not successful. Such a scattering could not be conducive to good work. Efforts were made to improve matters but to no effect. They attracted but few students and the work was indifferently carried on. Their failure, as taking the place of the old Normal School, was apparent to all.

---

[3]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 221.
[4]Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 325.
[5]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 222.
[6]Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieure en France, II: 164.
[7]L'Abbe de Montgaillard: Histoire de France, (1827) IX: 107.

The following statement, made in 1828, shows the general popular feeling toward the two schools: "These kinds of schools have had only an imperfect and unfruitful existence. People unfortunately thought or pretended to think that they would be able to replace the Normal School, and that great school, which already was gaining a good reputation, was destroyed. It began to be reestablished in 1826 but under the appellation, equivocal and obscure, of 'preparatory school.' It is to be hoped that it will not long be prevented from recovering its first and true name, together with all the deductions of that name, a habitation suited to its needs, and a special head." [8]

This reestablishment in 1826, or rather, the first step toward a re-establishment, was taken thru an ordinance of March 9th, reducing the number of the semi-normals, or partial normals, but planning an improvement of the work of those remaining. The name also was to be changed to "preparatory schools." But no such general action followed. However, under the cover of this ordinance there was established a new school called "A Preparatory School of Letters and Sciences" which later became the École Normale. Its establishment was due to the work of M. de Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Public Instruction; he had been Minister of Public Instruction and thus Grand Master of the Uuniversity since June, 1882. It was therefore under his administration that the Normal School had been suppressed. He, however, had not favored the suppression but like others had been compelled to bow before the storm. He had hoped for good results to proceed from the partial normal schools but in that hope had been disappointed. With the general admission of the failure he saw his opportunity and thus planned the re-establishment of the old school. But with the change of government from bad to worse, with absolutism firmly seated on the throne and with the old ecclesiastical foes scenting danger from afar, it was necessary for him to move with circumspection. And so he disguised his real purpose by calling the institution not "École Normale," but the more modest name "École Préparatoire."

It was opened in 1826 in the College of Louis le Grand with 19 students. Working under difficulties the growth was slow. Still it grew, advanced, and was surely making friends so that when the change in government drew near, a change that was bound to come sooner or later, the school was ready at once to enter upon its new life. In 1829, now numbering 49 students, it took a significant step forward. This the students did by effecting an organization among themselves which we might call a "pedagogical club" or "teachers' association" for the avowed purpose of giving the work a professional flavor. But this organization, while seemingly harmless and confined to the student body, was in reality a very ambitious undertaking that looked to the future. The direction of all the work done was in the hands of experienced masters and the whole scheme managed by a carefully chosen committee of University Inspectors.

Now came the July Revolution, the new spirit, the hope for the future. The Normal School was ready to enter upon its inheritance, nor was the inheritance withheld. One of the very first acts of the new government was that which bestowed the old name on this child of the old School. The ordinance is dated Aug. 6th, 1830, and reads thus: "The school destined to form professors and designated for some years under the name of "Preparatory School" shall take again that of "Normal School." There shall immediately be proposed measures for completing the organization of that school in a manner conformable to all the needs of public instruction." [9]

---

[8]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 221 (note).
[9]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 223.

On the same day, in accordance with the promise found in the ordinance, M. Victor Cousin, probably the most eminent French educator of the day, was placed at the head of the school. He had been a student, and at the time of the suppression was one of the professors of the old school and at this time also secretary of the Council of Public Instruction. He immediately began his work and in October made a report recommending many improvements, all of which were substantially adopted, and under their impulse the school began its new and larger work.

Dr. Bache visited the school in 1838, and writing of it the next year says: "New regulations for the course of studies, the general arrangements and discipline, have been gradually prepared, and the school has commenced a career of usefulness which it bids fair to prosecute with increasing success."[1]

Dr. Barnard, writing later of the same institution as working under the influence of this impulse, says: "The school became famous and was regarded by the enemies as well as the friends of the University, as the best of its class ever established."[2]

---

[1]Bache: Education in Europe, (1839) p. 441.
[2]Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 326.

CHAPTER VII.

REORGANIZATION. WORK FROM 1830 TO 1848.

The improvements brought about under the general administration of Cousin it is worth while to trace quite carefully since upon the foundations laid at this time the school has, in the main, continued to work even up to the present. True, minor changes were made from time to time especially following the change of government in 1848 and again in 1870, but yet the broad outlines traced in the early thirties have been substantially retained.

I.

ADMISSION.

Among these improvements perhaps no one is of more importance than the regulations for admission which were adopted Feb. 18th, 1834.

The decree of 1808, it will be remembered, had provided for admission solely from the lyceums, and upon examination. But as a matter of fact, up to 1834 few had been chosen in this way. By far the greater number had been appointed by the Rectors and Inspectors without any examination whatever—merely upon personal knowledge of fitness and merit, or upon recommendation, request or demand of influential personages. One can easily find many good reasons for deviating somewhat from the strict lines marked out in the decree. And it is only fair to say that, in the main, the school had not greatly suffered from such deviation. But now, in view of the growing interest in the school and of the larger future opening before it, the matter of admission needed careful attention. It might be well to say, at the outset, that the old regulation as to admission by examination was revived. But the examinations were made more severe and were hedged about in many ways. They were all to be competitive and to them no one was to be admitted who did not already hold a college diploma.

In order to become enrolled as a student of the school it was necessary for the young man to win in two examinations one at least of which was strongly competitive. The first, the less competitive of the two, was held in the Academy, the second at the school in Paris, where the Academy winners contested.

But not all who might choose to present themselves were admitted even to this Academy examination. It was not easy of approach and many annually fell by the wayside.

To become a candidate it was necessary for the young man to register with the secretary of the Academy some time between the 15th of June and the 15th of July. As a part of this registration the following documents were deposited: 1. A certificate of birth showing that on Jan. 1st of the year of registry the candidate was between the ages of 17 and 23. 2nd. A certificate of vaccination. 3rd. In case of minority, a legalized statement from the father or guardian authorizing the candidate to devote ten years to public instruction. 4th. A certificate of

character signed by the heads of the institutions formerly attended. 5th. A certificate of scholarship showing that the required academie courses had been completed.

On closing the registration, the applications, together with the accompanying documents and the judgment of the Academy Rector on each candidate, were immediately sent by messenger to the Minister of Public Instruction at Paris. They were carefully examined and before the first of August lists of the candidates fulfilling all the requirements and thus admitted to the examination were sent to the various Rectors whose duty it was, in turn, to notify the candidates. The examinations which were both oral and written were to begin on the 5th of August and close on the 10th, the same subjects and same questions being used in all the Academies. The chief examiner was the Rector but in the oral work he was assisted by a committee of three.

For the candidates who looked forward to becoming instructors in letters the written exercises consisted of a philosophical disseration in French, an essay in each Latin and French, translation of Greek and Latin authors and the writing of Latin prose. The oral work covered the authors sudied in college and the elements of philosophy, history and rhetoric. The science students had, for written work, the same philosophical dissertation and Latin prose, they had work in mathematics and physics. Their oral examination covered work done in mathematics, physics and philosophy.

On the 10th of August all written exercises and reports of the oral work were sent the Minister of Public Instruction and by him turned over to two committees of the Normal School Faculty, one on Letters and one on Sciences, the Director being chairman of both. These two committees, thru a careful examination of all papers and documents, decided who were worthy to enter the final examination for full admission. These were immediately notified to report for such examination on October 15th. Before entering upon it, however, the candidates were required to deposit their diplomas of bachelor of letters or of science.[1]

This final examination was held at Paris, was oral and conducted by two committees of the Normal Faculty. But it was not so severe, at least did not continue so long as the one in the Academy, often lasting not more than an hour for each section. At its close the two committees, sitting together under the presidency of the Directors, compared the results with those of the Academy examination and on the basis of merit made out a list of those to be finally admitted. The list was sent to the Minister of Public Instruction and by him submitted to the Royal Council before the 25th of October. In the end the appointments came directly from the King. All documents relative to admission, together with all examination papers, were kept on file by the Director.

Since the chief purpose of the school was then, as indeed it had been from the beginning, to furnish the colleges with well equipped professors, the number of students called for each year was determined by the prospective needs of the colleges. The matter of such determination and the fixing of such number was in the hands of the Minister of Public Instruction, aided by the Royal Council. The number of students applying for admission was always greatly in excess of the number needed to fill the vacancies. I have no statistics bearing upon the matter at this particular time but in 1865, 344 candidates presented themselves for 35 vacancies, nor is this an unusual showing. It will thus be easily seen that the few admitted were really picked men, and

[1]Later, this diploma was deposited at the time of registration as were the other documents.

picked, too, from a relatively large number of men all of whom were doubtless well equipped.

2.

COURSES OF STUDY.

The same resolution that so carefully and thoroly arranged the details of admission to the Normal School also thoroly revised and systematized the general matters of instruction within. The course was of three years duration. The students were separated into two sections, one of letters and one of science. From the first year they were quite distinct yet having some points of contact. I will outline the work of the two sections separately.

Section of Letters.

The work of the first year was little more than a very thoro review of the ground already covered in the college, that of the second aimed to extend the knowledge thus gained. The third year looked upon the students as prospective professors and the studies were selected and prosecuted according to the particular line of instruction to be undertaken.

First Year:

1. Greek language and literature, three lessons a week with the emphasis placed on grammar, translations and composition.
2. Latin language and literature, three lessons a week with the emphasis as in Greek.
3. Ancient history, three lessons a week with the emphasis upon institutions, customs, religion, arts and antiquities.
4. Philosophy somewhat more advanced than that given in the college, three lessons a week.
5. Mathematics, physics and natural history to be reviewed in a course of two lessons a week, one under the direction of the professors and the other with the students meeting alone.
6. German and English, to be studied in a course of one lesson a week under the guidance of a student.

The first year's work closed with an examination conducted not by the Normal Faculty but by the Inspector General of the University. The passing of this examination admitted to the second year's work, failure to pass necessitated the student's withdrawal from the institution. Students who were regularly enrolled for the second year's work were privileged to present themselves before the University Faculty of Letters for the licentiate examination in letters.

Not all, however, who passed the first year's work went on to the second. A resolution of June 17th, 1834, provided that those who were considered particularly adapted for work in the grammar classes of the colleges should pass immediately into the third year's work in the special grammar conference, or department. This did not, however, necessarily cut their normal courses short by a year since provision was made for another year's work in this conference if the work had been thoroly satisfactory. In 1843, Nov. 21st, a clause was added providing definitely for the two years work along this line.

Dr. Bache has an interesting statement on this matter, probably taken, in substance, from Cousin's report for the year 1835 and 1836 which is not before me: "When the pupil intends to devote himself to teaching in the grammar classes of the college, or is found not to have the requisite ability for taking a high rank in the body of instructors, he passes at once from the first year's course to the third, and competes, accordingly, in the examination of adjuncts. The consequences of the low esteem in which the grammar studies are held, have been much deplored by the present Direc-

tor of the school (M. Cousin) and a reform in regard to them has been attempted with partial success."[2]

Dr. Bach's work was written in 1839, five years after the first change mentioned and four before the second. It throws some light upon this interesting point.

Second Year:

In this year the work in the languages and philosophy was to be much more advanced, emphasis no longer being placed upon technique and elements, rather on the content and historical development.

The courses were five, each having two recitations a week.:

1. History of Greek literature with translation and prose.
2. History of Roman literature with translation and prose.
3. History of French literature paying special attention, thru critical literary exercises and composition, to the cultivation of taste and style.
4. History, Mediaeval and Modern.
5. History of Philosophy.

The work of the second year also closed with an examination conducted, in the main, by the Inspectors General. Students passing this second year examination who did not receive the licentiate at the close of the first were now expected to present themselves. Failure to pass the severe licentiate examination necessitated withdrawal. It was based almost wholly upon Greek and Latin Masterpieces, and consisted in essays, translations, explanations, and the answering of questions on history, philosophy, philology, &c., touched upon in the various selections chosen, which varied from year to year.

Third Year:

The third year being the closing year of the Normal School course the work was made more strictly professional, pedagogic rather than academic ends being sought and methods followed. The instruction, thus far common, now became more special. Each student was engaged upon studies and exercises most comformable to his taste and aptitude as revealed by his former work and his examinations. The section of letters was separated into divisions or classes corresponding to the four different lines of work carried on in the college; grammar, letters, history and philosophy. Each student found his place in one of the divisions, and for that alone was held responsible. The work for the third year, then, was outlined separately for each of the four divisions.

Since we have here the central point of the vital work of the Normal School I will not mar the resolution by attempting a paraphrase, or summary, but give, rather, a close translation:[3]

"1. *Grammar Division:*

"A course corresponding to the grammar classes of the colleges. The Masters of Conferences shall explain to the students and cause them to explain, orally or in writing, the most important questions which the particular grammars present, Greek or Latin: he shall explain to them besides and cause them to explain to one another in as thoro a manner as possible from the grammatical and philosophical points of review a certain number of Greek and Latin texts. Finally he shall exercise them in the criticism and method of teaching, by demanding of them compositions which they shall examine reciprocally and thru requiring them to conduct under his eyes veritable classes.

"2. *Letters Division:*

"A course corresponding to the advanced classes in letters. The Masters of Greek Conferences in charge of the courses in Greek, Latin and French literature shall submit to the examination and discussion of stud-

[2]Bache: Education in Europe, p. 444.

[3]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 794.

ents a certain number of questions of criticism and literary history. They shall examine with them the rules of interpretation and translation of authors, the general principles of the art of writing and of composition, both in prose and verse, and shall cause them to apply these rules and principles to the subjects or texts chosen. They shall also train them in the art of teaching by means of lessons expressly chosen for that purpose which the students shall conduct in their presence. The Master of Conference of French literature will need also to institute frequent comparisons between the masterpieces of that and foreign literatures.

"3. *History Division:*

A course in general history in which the professor, by suggesting for the study of the students matters chosen from all parts of ancient and modern history, shall form an historical criticism and shall cause them to become acquainted with the most important works, works which can be looked upon as models of their kind. Nevertheless, he shall not neglect the art of exposition essential to the technique of history.

"4. *Philosophy Division:*

"A course in philosophy where the instruction of the preceding years shall be reviewed and reproduced under the form of problems borrowed either in science or in history. These the professors shall give to the students for discussion and thus cause them to review the different solutions that have been suggested and to criticise the results of former researches. He shall lay particular emphasis upon the methods to be used and, like his colleagues, require the students to conduct recitations in preparation for which he will give them all the directions and all the advice necessary in order to fashion them into professors as practical as learned.

"The students of the third year, independently of their required conferences, shall follow the courses of the faculties of letters and of sciences which shall be designated to them according to their special divisions. They shall hold themselves ready to respond to all the questions which the professors address them. They shall frequently visit also the courses in the College of France and other public institutions. With the consent of the Director they are permitted to go, in the interests of their studies, and at convenient hours to work in the libraries, to consult manuscripts, visit museums and monuments." [4]

The work of the third year, like that of the others, closed with an examination in July. The students were expected also to present themselves for the examination leading to aggregation, each according to his aptitude and the division of studies followed during his third year.

Section of Sciences.

The studies of the science section, in the reorganization of the work in 1834, were common to all the students thruout the three years, there being no separation, at the close of the second year as in the section of letters, into divisions based on taste and aptitude. There was then but one aggregation in science but in 1840 the science work was more carefully differentiated. From this time there were, for the third year, two divisions, one emphasizing the physical, the other the mathematical sciences, each student electing the one or the other. The corresponding change was made in the matter of aggregation.

Instead of giving, for this section, the work as outlined in 1834, I give the course as followed in 1835 and 1836. Since the differences lie in the direction of the separation already mentioned. This outline I borrow

[4] Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 794.

from Dr. Bache to whom it was furnished directly by M. Viguier, director of studies at that time.

"First Year:

1. Astronomy, two lessons a week.
2. Descriptive Geometry, two lessons.
3. Chemistry, two lectures, one lesson and four hours of manipulation.
4. Botany, one lesson.
5. Philosophy, two lessons.
6. German language, one lesson.
7. Drawing, one lesson during the week and one on Sunday.

"Second Year:

1. Physics, two lectures, two lessons and one hour of manipulation.
2. Chemistry, two lectures.
3. Botany, one lesson.
4. Vegetable Physiology, two lectures.
5. Calculus of Probabilities, two lectures and two lessons.
6. Differential and Integral Calculus, two lectures and two lessons.
7. Drawing, one lesson during the week and one on Sunday.

"Third Year:

1. Mechanics, four lectures and two lessons.
2. Chemical analysis, two lectures and one hour of manipulation.
3. Chemistry, one lecture.
4. Natural history, two lessons.
5. Geology, one lesson.
6. Botany, one lesson.
7. Drawing, one lesson.

On Sunday the students make botanical and geological excursions into the environs." [5]

In connection with the work in Chemistry and Physics the word "manipulation" has been used and time for it allowed. This refers to laboratory practice in those sciences. A word might be added regarding this work. As one should expect it was very limited, and for many reasons. In the first place the laboratory method of studying science was then in its infancy, and was applied only in chemistry and physics. The general method being in its infancy the apparatus was both limited and crude. And tho at this time and in this school the value of the method was recognized and the work carefully outlined for each month of the year, nevertheless the work was of a very elementary character and in no sense far-reaching. But yet, let me urge this very significant fact that this much was done: the principle was recognized and adopted and provision made for its actual working.

In addition to these scientific courses, the students, particularly of the first year, were required to follow the courses of philosophy, history, literature and the modern languages given in the school. At the close of each year the science students underwent examinations in a somewhat similar manner as already described for those of letters. The licentiate of mathematical science might be taken at the close of the second, and of physical science at the close of the third year's work. These examinations were given, again, not by the Normal School faculty but by the University Faculty of Science of Paris.

Tho the one function of the Normal School was at this time, as it had been from the beginning, the fitting of men for college positions, an

[5] Bache: Education in Europe, p. 446.

honorable completion of the full Normal School course did not carry with it the coveted position, nor did it even put one upon the available list, so to speak, from which professors were chosen as needed. The passing of another examination was needed for registration upon this waiting list. This was called the examination for aggregation. In it they met and competed, on a par, with students prepared elsewhere. The competition was keen and the examination very difficult. While saying that the results of these competitive examinations do not furnish an exact criterion of the relative strength of the school, Dr. Bache gives the interesting result of the examination held in 1836. Out of 28 places to be filled, 18 were filled by students from the Normal School.

3.

AGGREGATION.

It may not be out of place to dwell briefly upon this matter of "aggregation" or "fellowship" as it is sometimes called, since in our country we have no term corresponding to it. The term "aggregation" refers to a certain educational position and "agrégé" to the one filling such a position. The position is that of adjunct or assistant professor, so to speak, and the chief duty of one holding the position consists in filling the place of the professor in his absence.

Historically, aggregation dates from 1766, four years after the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, when three were established, one each in grammar, history and philosophy. The position was then created for the purpose of securing teachers to take the places of those thus barred. From that time on competitive examinations formed the gateway leading to aggregation, and aggregation the gateway to desirable teaching positions. These examinations were "designed to test ability to teach grammar, classics, and philosophy, the successful candidates being "attached" or "aggregated" to the university." [6] From the list of agrégés thus made up temporary vacancies were filled and permanent appointments eventually made. During the progress of the Revolution aggregation, as so many other educational provisions, was entirely swept away. But it was revived in 1808 and without material alteration again made a part of the system.

It was not, however, till 1821 that the provisions of the law were carried out. In that year the first examination was held as a result of which 47 agrégés were installed, 3 in science, 20 in letters and 24 in grammar. To these three aggregations others were added from time to time as made necessary by the increased interest in certain lines of work or by the general development of the educational system. In 1825, a special aggregation in philosophy was added, in 1830, one in history, and in 1840, another in science, making two, one in mathematical and one in physical science.

There were, then, from 1840 on, for some years, six aggregations all open to graduates of the Normal School and to others suitably prepared. I do not know how better I can give the high value placed on the aggregation or the real position held by the Normal Sschool than by giving the requirements for admission to this competitive examination. Those admitted to competition must be either:

1. Graduates of the Normal School,
2. Principals or Regents of Communal Colleges,
3. Directors of Studies of Royal or Communal Colleges, with an experience of two years,
4. Masters of Courses in Royal Colleges with an experience of two years,

---

[6] Barnard: National Education, (1827) p. 317.

5. Heads of Institutions and Masters of Boarding Schools with an experience of two years, or

6. Ushers in Institutions and Boarding Schools with an experience of three years, when recommended by the Rector.

In all these cases the term of practical experience might be waived for those holding a doctor's degree in letters or science.

In addition to the above requirements each candidate was required to hold certain degrees, as follows: For competition in philosophy, the degrees of Licentiate of Letters and of Bachelor of Science; in mathematical science, Licentiate of Mathematical and of Physical Science; in physical and natural sciences, Licentiate of Mathematical of Physical and of Natural Science; in letters, Licentiate of Letters; in history, Licentiate of Letters; and in grammar, Bachelor of Letters.[7]

These were requirements implying qualification of a superior grade, and it might be thought that, at any rate from an academic standpoint, college professors might safely be chosen from a list of men thus equipped without any further examination. No doubt it would have been safe and have given the colleges good men but yet, note again that the fulfilling of these requirements merely admitted to a competitive examination comprehensive and severe. The people of France required for their college professors men not only sufficiently well equipped to do the work but men whose equipment was the broadest and whose mental powers were the keenest. So they took men meeting all the above requirements, subjected them to a searching competitive test and from the large number allowed to compete selected for the relatively few needed those most satisfactory, if indeed there were even that few who reached a certain high standard of excellence. For example, I cite two cases. They come a little later, it is true, but yet clearly illustrate the statement. In 1863, in the competition in philosophy, out of 55 contestants only ten agrégés were appointed, and in 1866, in the recently instituted aggregation of secondary instruction, out of 27 contestants only six were appointed.

Now, these selected were placed upon the waiting list as has already been suggested and considered available to supply temporary vacancies or to receive permanent appointments. Once admitted to a certain aggregation the agrégé was permitted to teach only the subjects of that aggregation unless examined for and admitted into another, against which there was no law.

4.

FACULTY. * * * * BUILDINGS.

In 1837 the official board, or Faculty, was made up of some 22 men. At the head, as Director, was M. Victor Cousin, who was also Secretary of the Council of the University. He did not, however, reside at the school as this official had formerly been required to do, nor did he have any direct connection with the definite work of instruction. The Director was at the head of the governing body of the institution a position practically the same as the chairmanship of the board of regents or council of an American institution.

The second in official position, as resident head and Director of Studies, was M. Viguier, whose duties were practically the same as those performed by the President of an American university. He was assisted by a sub-director or dean, whose work was the general supervision of the students, and by two others working under the latter and called super-

[7]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 566.

intending masters. Aside from these there were, as regular members of the teaching force, 15 professors, or masters of conferences, 8 for the section of letters and 7 for the section of science. There were also 2 others called preparers whose work was, as the term indicates, of a more elementary nature. In this year, 1837, the school enrolled 80 students, 49 of whom were being wholly supported by government funds, royal scholarships, &c., while for 18 others about one-half the expenses were thus being defrayed. The remaining 13 were self-supporting.

Dr. Bache in his visit at this time found the school still located in some of the buildings belonging to the Royal College of Louis-le-Grande where, it will be remembered, it was re-established after its suppression in 1822. The College at this time furnished not only the buildings for the Normal School but as well the food and clothing of the students, these latter, however, not gratuitously.

This close connection of the Normal School with the College gave the former both advantages and distadvantages. On the one hand it furnished the Normal School students with opportunities for practice teaching under guidance.[8] There was also, doubtless, an intellectual atmosphere of greater or less value. But on the other hand there were disadvantages and Dr. Bache says that they "more than counter balanced" the advantages. "The accommodation for lodging, study, instruction, and exercise, as far as the buildings and its site are concerned, are certainly of a most limited kind." [9]

But inadequate as were the accommodations and zealous as were the friends of the school in their efforts to secure better, it was some time before these efforts were entirely fruitful. It will be remembered that Napoleon, away back in 1812, had formed ambitious plans for such a purpose; also that in 1828, when it looked as tho the school was to be resurrected, the hope of "a habitation suited to its needs" was voiced. And now again as Dr. Bach says, "The friends of the school are earnest in their endeavors to procure a separate domicile for it." [1]

Real needs for a work appreciated by an intelligent people are not usually postponed indefinitely, however. Under the general direction of Cousin and the immediate supervision of Viguier the school was more and more justifying its *raison d'etre*. A new home was needed, and it was forthcoming. Napoleon's plan of 1812 was revived. The matter was brought before the Chamber of Deputies and soon after, March 9th, 1841, the decree of reconstruction was passed. Additional land was purchased and the erection of a new and commodious building immediately begun. The improvements completed represented an outlay of $395,000, but gave to the school a home well suited to its needs and one in which it might well take pride. The formal dedication took place at the opening of the school in November, 1847,[2] and the future seemed well assured.

Matthew Arnold, writing of the School in 1866 said, among other things: "This school is on the Rue d'Ulm, in the old school quarter of Paris on the left bank of the Seine, where the Sorbonne and by far the greater number of the lycées and centers of instruction are still to be found. The building is large and handsome, something like one of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge; it has chapel, library and garden; the tricolor flag waves over the entrance. Everything is beautifully neat and

---

[8]This statement is based in what Dr. Bache says. I find no specific reference elsewhere to practice teaching, but Dr. Bache doubtless reported what he saw.

[9]Bache: Education in Europe, p. 441.

[1]Bache: Ibid., p. 441.

[2]Authorities differ as to the date of occupation, some giving 1846, others 1847.

well kept; the life in common which economy compels these great establishments, in France, severely to practice, has,—when its details are precisely and perfectly attended to, and when, as at the École Normale, the resources allow a certain finish and comfort much beyond the strict needs of the barrack or hospital,—a more imposing effect for the eye than the arrangement of college rooms." [3]

During the erection of the new building, but before its completion, on Dec. 6th, 1845, when new things were in the air, the name of the school was changed from "École Normale" to "École Normale Supérieure," to distinguish it from Normal Schools of a lower rank. And by this latter name it has since been known.

5.

PEDAGOGICAL ASPECTS.

We have been considering the courses of study and the general regulations of a *normal school,* and of the most celebrated and unique normal school of all history. It is pertinent therefore to enquire as to certain professional aspects always connected by us with any establishment having for its end the education of teachers.

I refer especially to specific pedagogical instruction and practice teaching, the two pivots, as it were, upon which the entire theory of our modern normal school turns. For tho educational leaders may and indeed do differ as to the kind and amount of pedagogical instruction, whether theoretical or practical work shall predominate and whether, for example, History of Education or Psychology shall in the main be studied, nevertheless all are agreed that pedagogical instruction must form a respectable portion of the work given. And again, tho educators differ radically as to the matter of practice teaching, whether the elementary school which forms a part of the normal school equipment shall be a school of practice or one of observation, whether the students shall actually try their "prentice hand" or simply observe the process as performed by an expert, still all are agreed that this elementary school should always be found, that without it the institution, whatever else it may or may not be, is certainly not a *normal* school.

Prior to the reorganization and extension of the work in 1834 we have found little said about pedagogical instruction and nothing about practice teaching. The only statements found in courses of study or in general directions that even suggest the matter of professionalism aside from the name "Normal School" so frequently used, are such vague, general ones as that the students are to learn the "art of teaching," the instructors shall give lessons in the "art of teaching," "the students shall transmit the methods of instruction," and the statement made in connection with the reorganization of the work in 1815 that the added year should be devoted largely to pedagogical instruction.

It was recognized that there was such an art as the "art of teaching," it was thought that that art could in some way be imparted, learned, and put into practice, but beyond such recognition and such thought no one ventured to go.

There was no systematic reflective study of the problem of education itself in either its history, its theory or its practice. This is true in spite of that third year added in 1815 since we know that that provision was not fully carried out owing to the difficulties of the time and the suppression that so soon followed.

As a matter of practice, must not the thought have been of this "art

[3] Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 331.

of teaching" of which we find them saying so much, that it was something that could not be taught directly thru the learning and reciting of the text book lessons, but something that must be given and received *passim*, possibly, nay probably, unconsciously? And acting upon this belief did not the governing bodies choose for their instructors men whom they considered great teachers confidently believing that the example of such, their manner and the breathing out of their spirit acting upon impressible natures would in turn produce great teachers? Many illustrations could be given to substantiate such a belief whether or not it was held and made the basis of action. But I will take space for but a single one, tho an illustrious one—the celebrated Director of the Normal School during its most critical period, that of reorganization in the thirties—M. Victor Cousin. Was it not under the inspiration of those great teachers, Laromiguiére, Maime de-Biran and Royer-Callard, that while a student of this very school, the divine spark of his teacher soul was fanned into a flame? He called the three the "triple discipline" and said of a day with Laromiguière, "That day decided my whole life."

And who is ready to say that such a method of procedure is not more nearly right than ours? Who to say that we are wiser in going to the other extreme and, acting upon the assumption that that most spiritual of all arts can be taught thru lessons on methods and devices, selecting our normal school teachers merely on the basis of scholarship wholly disregarding that most important of all elements in a teacher's make-up, teaching ability, and our grade teachers on mere ability to learn and apply certain cut and dried methods and devices, again wholly disregarding both spirit and knowledge?

So we find that during the first 40 years of the life of this great normal school the only equipment it was thought the teacher needed, or if not exactly the only equipment needed, certainly the only equipment it was thought that the school could furnish him thru a specific course of instruction consisted of an intellectual development and a thoro mastery of the subjects he was henceforth to teach.

But with the reorganization and under the directing genius of this same Cousin, to meet the needs of the remarkable educational awakening of the time, the old conservative position, the extreme just now dwelt upon, was abandoned. True, we do not find that they went very far, that the pendulum swung to the other side of the arc, but yet the courses do now recognize more fully than before the two pivots, as I have called them, of our modern normal school, pedagogical instruction and practice teaching.

For such recognition let me refer the reader to the courses of study already given. In the outline of work for the four divisions of the third year in the section of letters the matters are treated. The thoughts are couched in quite general terms but yet, since the departure had but just been made, the directions are as specific as we could expect. But tho stated in general terms, *they are stated* and with sufficient clearness to indicate to us that they were held to be of the utmost importance in the preparation of even advanced teachers.

I am not saying that at once the directions were fully followed and that a thoroly outlined system of pedagogical instruction was from that time an organic part of the course of study. That would not be true. Matters of great moment, as systems of thought or education, do not come forth full formed as Minerva is said to have sprung from the head of Jove, or as a mushroom springs up in a night time. Rather, they are slow of growth. First the central idea is born, takes possession of a few, then, as a result of reflection, an addition is made here, another there, a change on this side and one on that until the original conception, if it has com-

mended itself to a sufficient number of leaders in its department and demonstrated its usefulness, has grown into an organic whole.

It was thus in the case under discussion. In 1794 we find the idea dimly conceived. By 1834 it had sufficiently developed so as to be capable of relatively clear statement. Four years later resolutions were passed relative to practice teaching which show clearly that the idea was gaining in favor. They show as clearly, too, the fact that no one knew exactly how to go to work. I quote the resolution of 1838:

"Students of the third year in the Normal School, shall be admitted as participants and assistants in the Royal Colleges of Paris, under the directions of the Professors, in the classes corresponding to the departments of their studies and the aggregations to which they are tending.

"These exercises shall follow the Easter festival and continue six weeks at least, two months at most. The Director of the Normal School and the Principals of the Royal Colleges of Paris shall confer in order to devise measures relative to the execution of the present resolution. At the termination of the conferences they shall draw up and present to the Minister a special report.

"Those students of the Normal School who shall have been admitted to the above position shall be entrusted with classes in the Royal Colleges at the time of the sittings of the general competitions so as to fill the places of professors absent by reason of service.

"Students whose assistance should prove to be necessary in such cases should be designated by the Director, on the call of the Inspector of the Academy of Paris, after having received orders from the Minister." [4]

How fully all these regulations were carried out it is impossible to say. Dr. Bache, writing in 1839, says of the School: "It is in turn, inferior to the seminaries for secondary education in Berlin, in the absence of arrangements for practical teaching." [5]

But it should be stated that Dr. Bache's visit was in 1838, before the resolutions just quoted had been put into execution.

Dr. Barnard, writing in 1872, says: "Each year the students who graduated were to be distributed among the colleges of Paris, and drilled for several weeks under the direction of a professor." [6]

One other matter worthy of mention and that comes more nearly under this head than any other, is discipline. It will be remembered that in a former chapter attention was called to the rather severe disciplinary methods of the school as reorganized in 1810. No great change had been made.

There were still in force regulations the most minute and restrictions the most exacting, and there was allowed little opportunity for free voluntary activity even in the smaller affairs of life. This is all the more strange when we consider the maturity of the students (in 1837 only 5 out of 90 were under 19 years of age) and the fact that all were working for responsible collegiate positions.

Evidently the shibboleth of the Revolution, "liberté, égalité, fraternité," had not yet brought forth its full fruitage.

---

[4]Rendu: Code Universitaire, p. 800.
[5]Bache: Education in Europe, p. 449.
[6]Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 326.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL FROM 1848 TO THE REORGANIZATION OF THE PRESENT TIME.

I.

BRIEF SUMMARY.

The Normal School was now fully and generously established. Its work from 1848 to the reorganization that is now in progress is full of interest and well worth a careful study along any one of many different lines. It would repay one, for example, to make a study of the effects of governmental changes upon the school and the reflex influence of the school upon the government. It would be equally profitable to trace the growth and development of the work in science showing the school's influence thru its laboratories. It would be interesting to look upon it as strictly a professional school, a pedagogical institution—a normal school,—and to try to answer such questions as these: "Has it been true to its name?" "Has it performed its own specific function?" "In its development has it kept step with this new and growing science of Pedagogy?" There are inviting fields, also, along more prosaic lines, in following its courses of study, its teachers and students. What more inviting than to follow the latter as year after year they have left the school and taken up the work of life for which they have there been fitted, and thus to try to estimate the great school's contribution to the growing manhood of France? Such questions and many others crowd upon one, but space forbids. It is not possible to do more than briefly sketch the work of this half century. A glance backward, however, may assist us in our hasty look forward.

We note first, the school of 1794 which, like the gourd of Jonah, sprang up in a night, as it were, and passed away with the next day's sun. It was not, however, forgotten, but was revived in the great university scheme of Napoleon in 1808 and 1810. But the part the school was playing during the next decade told against rather than for the principles of government which had given it life and which were supplying it with nourishment. So, not strangely, its death sentence was pronounced and it ceased to be. But the fact that the school had gained a place for itself in the French consciousness is clearly seen in the persistence of the idea during the years of suppression and its gradual emergence when once the opportunity was offered. This is shown also by the hearty recognition accorded it on the event of its reappearance and the generous support offered for its reorganization and equipment.

Better now than at any earlier time can we appreciate the difficulties under which the school had thus far labored. It had had no regularly outlined courses of study. Tho there had been brilliant men on its faculty there had really been no unity of aim, no directing hand capable of utilizing all its resources in such a way as to make of it what its name announced it to be, *the École Normale.*

Tho it was ever an institution of the boarding school type where all its students lived within its walls, not till the very close of the last period did it have a home of its own or even temporary quarters at all adequate for its work and plans.

But all that was now changed. The institution came to the close of that period strong and active. It was strong not only in material equipment but as well in intellectual resource and in the affections of the people.

It was active as is the young man conscious of his strength and impatiently awaiting the future. It now faced its great opportunities with an intelligent aim clearly perceived, a carefully outlined plan of work and a material equipment that left little to be desired. Its buildings were new, well constructed and well arranged to make a pleasing working home for one hundred students. True, the school was tied to the past by its "police" regulations and continued to be so tied for a long time rendering impossible what we understand by a free development of the inner life. But aside from that its outlook was hopeful.

2.

GENERAL OUTLINE OF PERIOD.

The Revolution of 1848 was at first favorable to the school. Under M. Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction from February to July of that year, it received not only some marks of immediate favor but also many indications of intelligent management and generous treatment for the future. But M. Carnot's term of office as Minister soon came to an end and, unfortunately, his successors for several years, even up to 1856, were not particularly friendly to the school, if indeed we are not compelled to think them hostile. Buisson says, "Under the ministries of MM. de Falloux, de Perieu, Fortoul, the Normal School was exposed to grievous hostilities."[1] And certainly, some of the changes introduced point in that direction. But still, they may be interpreted as no more than unintelligent attempts at reorganization. This can be said of even the definite plan of suppression formed in 1852, because this suppression was planned to be but temporary—merely to give greater opportunity for reorganization. At any rate, tho the school was seriously handicapped by such legislative meddling, its permanent existence was not once really threatened and it suffered only temporary embarrassment, adverse legislation being later corrected. By 1860 this experimental stage, so to speak, was passed and the school allowed to continue its work, mainly along the old lines, very largely unmolested.

The period as a whole has been one of prosperity. In their quiet retreat, perhaps I should say in their cloistral seclusion (I cannot go so far as some and say "in their closely guarded prison-house"), professors and students alike, deeply engaged in their literary and scientific studies, have pursued the even tenor of their ways quite unmindful of the changing events without. The school has made but little noise, being well content in the enjoyment of peace and the opportunities for work. Changes have been made from time to time, it is true, some of which will be mentioned later, but nothing radical occurred until November, 1903, when the reorganization that is now being worked out was decreed.

3.

GRATUITY.

In the early years instruction in the Normal School had been absolutely gratuitous, the principle extending even so far as to include board, clothing and books. But changes were inaugurated in the thirties, requiring the expense to be borne by the student unless he could become the holder of a scholarship, of which, however, as already noted, there were not enough to go around. These changes were not wholly satisfactory and one of the first measures recommended by the new Minister, M.

[1]Buisson: Dictionnaire de Pédagagie, p. 768.

Carnot, was the return to the old principle of gratuity. The reasons for this change I give in the words of the report of the Committee of Public Instruction:

"The principle of gratuitous instruction in the normal schools is justified by considerations which spring from the very self-sacrificing devotion marking the opening of the career of the students, destined, most of them, to the position of an ordinary teacher. The vocation demands an ardent zeal, an abnegation of talent which resigns itself to labor without fame, and a stubborn toil which undermines the strongest constitutions. Moreover, for this mission, or priestly office of instructor, as it may well be called, the candidates are recruited almost always from the poor. It is therefore necessary that an absolute rule be established, that talent in no place shall be thrust back, or poverty be an obstacle." [2]

This return to the principle of gratuitous instruction was certainly in the line of improvement and has remained the policy of the school up to the present time. It has not included, however, in these later years, the matter of clothing. That each student provides for himself.

4.

AGGREGATION.

One of the most temporarily disastrous of these changes had reference to the manner of aggregation. It will be remembered that heretofore this examination was taken immediately upon graduation and that upon its successful issue the agrégé was placed upon the available list for the filling of vacancies that might occur. Now, however, in the hopes of raising the standard of scholarship and pedagogic skill, it was decided that this examination should be postponed three years and that the interval should be spent in some sort of apprenticeship in the lyceums. This arrangement made the licientiate degree the only immediate goal of the normal course, and this degree, even for the students in the section of letters, could not now be taken before the close of the second year.

Accompanying this change in the time of the aggregation examination was another even more disquieting. The six aggregations already mentioned plus another, added later, in natural sciences, had, in 1851, been reduced to two, one in letters and one in science. Working in harmony with these retrograde movements the separation into divisions for the third year's work had been discontinued. So that now there was almost a dead uniformity, no longer opportunity for developing individual aptitude save as that might be done through the single differentiation between letters and science. This last step sacrificed as well the only strictly professional phase of the work, for this, it will be remembered, was done in the divisions of the third year. It is true that the need of such preparation was not lost sight of, for Article 4 of the reorganization law of 1852 says: "During the entire course, the instruction of each section has for its object the giving to the students not only an instruction strong and accurate, but as well all the accomplishments necessary to a teacher." [3] And later, taking up the work of the third year, the decree begins by saying: "The instruction of the third year has for its immediate and special end the forming of teachers * * * * finally, and especially the forming of them in the science and the practice of methods." [4] It is well to refer again, in this connection, to the plan outlined for a three years' apprenticeship before aggregation. But all this was even more vague

[2]Barnard: National Education, (1872) quoted on page 326.
[3]Barrau: Legislation de l'Instruction Publique, p. 390.
[4]Barrau: Ibid., p. 394.

and indefinite than the regulations set aside so that we note a distinct professional loss, and a loss that has not yet been fully regained.

M. Liard well sums up the whole situation in the following: "Heretofore there had been different aggregations according to the natural subdivisions of studies, philosophy, history, literature, grammar, mathematical, physical and natural sciences. These were reduced to two, one for all that pertains to letters, another for all that pertains to the sciences, "omnibus" aggregations, bearing upon everything, scattering effort, disconcerting the aptitudes, favoring the mediocres, but at the same time, checking ambitions and holding the spirit almost to the earth level of literal knowledge." [5]

These changes were decidedly unpopular and became the most potent cause for the lack of interest in the school, the consequent falling off in the attendance and the resulting inability of the educational department to fill the vacancies in the lyceums and the colleges. They brought forth much criticism and raised a storm of protest. The public disfavor was finally heeded and the old conditions, in the main, gradually restored.

5.

ADMISSION.

In the early fifties there were changes also in the admission requirements, making admission even more difficult, and, in general, safeguarding the interests of the public. The more important of these changes, generally looked upon as in the line of improvement, have since prevailed and should be mentioned.

Before admission the students were required to submit to a rigorous physical examination by the physician of the school, and if found to be afflicted with any weakness or any malady that might lessen their future usefulness or in any way prove a menace to the health of their pupils they were rejected.

Among the documents now required to be deposited at the time of registration for admission to the Academy examination, or, as it is now called "the examination of the first degree," is one giving data not only as to ability and attainments on the part of the candidate but also as to matters that enable the department to look into the condition and character of his ancestry. I will state this requirement in the words of the latest "programme":

"7.—A document dated and signed by the candidate (curriculum vitæ) indicating the profession of his father, the home of his family, and the places where he has lived since the age of fifteen years, the establishments in which he has studied or closed his studies, the success which he has met in the classes and in his examinations." [6]

This document is commonly interpreted in such a way as to give the greatest latitude in the investigation, and the time now elapsing between registration and examination, often six months as against less than one month as provided in 1834, gives plenty of time for the same. And the time is so used that the candidates with undesirable antecedents are rejected, thus securing for the school only the best of student material.

And, too, the admission examinations, especially the one of "second degree," the one taken at the school in Paris, was made much more severe.

---

[5] Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieure en France, II: 245.

[6] Programme des Conditions d'Admission a l'École Normale Supérieure, 1903, p. 4.

Under the new regulations this examination is much more than a mere matter of form; at least one hour must be used in the testing of each candidate as against an hour for all the students of a section, and this examination must cover all the main subjects formerly studied.

The age limits were raised one year, being now 18 and 24. This of course gave greater maturity of judgment as well as better physical equipment.

CURRICULUM.

6.

There were also, in 1852, as there have been at various times since, some changes in the curriculum, but they have been neither many nor great and space forbids their discussion. Indeed the remarkable thing is that there have not been more and greater changes. To show both how slight the changes have been and the nature of the work during recent years, I will give a brief outline of the courses as officially announced for 1889. The outline would be practically the same for any one of the last twenty years

"FIRST YEAR.

Letters—	*Sciences*—
Philosophy.	Mathematics.
Ancient History.	Chemistry.
Greek Language and Literature.	Mineralogy.
Latin Language and Literature.	Zoology.
French Language and Literature.	Botany.
Grammar.	German and English.
German and English.	

"SECOND YEAR.

History of Philosophy.	Mathematics.
Greek Literature.	Physics.
Latin Literature.	Geology.
French Literature.	German and English.
Mediæval and Modern History.	
Geography.	
German and English.	

"THIRD YEAR.

Conferences preparatory to the different orders of aggregation.	Conferences preparatory to the different orders of aggregation. In the third year the students of the section of natural sciences prepare themselves for the licentiate of that order.

"In addition to the above courses, work done in the school itself, the students follow a certain number of courses in the College of France, in the Faculty of Letters and in that of Sciences." [7]

7.

BUILDINGS.

The buildings erected in the forties were planned for the accommodation of 100 students, but that number was often exceeded, resulting in unsatisfactory crowding. In 1865 accommodations were added for ten,

[7] Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieure, 1889, p. 700.

and the enrollment did not go much above 110 till 1880, when the Department of Natural Sciences was more fully developed. But in 1882 with the discontinuance of the office of Chaplain, the old chapel was utilized and some relief given. In 1883 additional adjoining ground was secured and an adequate building erected for the new science department. Again in the '90's additional room and other facilities were provided for the department of physics and for the library. About the same time the hospital was removed from the main building to the one formerly used by Pasteur as private laboratory. During the past twenty years the enrollment has been about 130, seldom going more than one or two above or below. The number asked for each year has been, for several years, about 45; 44,—20 for the science and 24 for the letters section,—has been a common call.[8]

8.

DISCIPLINE.

Another change well worthy of mention has been taking place during the period now under discussion. And a change it is, perhaps more important and more far-reaching than any other mentioned. It is a change, too, in which the people of America are especially interested and with the spirit of which they have the warmest sympathy. I have reference to the changed attitude toward the student with respect to his capacity for self-government. The reader will readily recall the "police" regulations of early times, also a former statement to the effect that up to 1848 they still prevailed. Nor were any material changes made in these particulars in the semi-reorganization following the governmental changes of 1848. Indeed, it is true that with the changes of these days the spirit of liberalism ever fostered in the school "came in for some measure of distrust." And tho such mistrust did not show itself in any act of avowed hostility it yet is clearly manifested in the reiteration of the old attitude of repression. In no better way can I show the spirit of the times and at the same time the hampering restrictions under which the Normal School labored, than by quoting a few lines from Liard as he speaks upon this very point:

"Everything is regulated, year by year, day by day, hour by hour. * * * * There is no place for the initiative, no liberty of movement. Grammar, literature, history, philosophy, are cut off in slices and dosed out by years; the method to be followed is fixed in advance; history following the chronological order and not otherwise touched; the level where thought shall stop is fixed in the same way. * * * * The regulations take the student when he rises in the morning, a student from 20 to 25 years old, and follow him up to his hour of retiring, prescribing for him everything, point by point, his steps, his walks, his hours of study, his mode of work, his silence, his readings and his prayers." [9]

The changed attitude of which I speak was shown publicly and prominently for the first time in 1866 when the services of the old time "usher" were dispensed with. This official had belonged to the Normal School staff from the beginning in 1810. He was not a teacher nor had he any of the functions of an instructor. He was employed merely to put into execution the "police" regulations. His duty was to watch the students day and night, during study hour and recreation period; to accompany them upon their walks and to their recitations in order to prevent, if pos-

[8] Much information in regard to these and other details are to be found in the annual collections of laws and acts of public instruction published since 1848: Recueil des Lois et Acts de L'Instruction Publique.

[9] Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieur en France, II: 246.

sible, the slightest infraction of the thousand and one senseless restrictions; and if not possible to prevent them, to see that punishment followed.[10]

But M. Duruy, Director of the school at this time, thought such an official not needed. He thought one of the best accomplishments a teacher could have was an ability to govern himself. He further thought that nowhere could that ability be better gained than right there in the Normal School. He therefore abolished the office and threw the students upon their own honor. The wisdom of his measure has long since been conceded by all. To us this is no surprise. The surprising thing is that in an institution which had more than once, and for good reasons, been stigmatized as a "nest of liberalism," and whose work had from the very first, been characterized by the spirit of free and independent research, the strange thing is, I say, that the "usher" was tolerated as long as he was.

The liberalizing work begun by the abolition of the "usher" has continued, and tho there is not today the freedom that American students enjoy in all our schools, yet they have it in much larger measure than in former years and the time cannot be far distant when all such unnatural and unpedagogical restrictions will be but relics of the past.

9.

LABORATORIES.

The word "laboratory" has been used in connection with this school even from its very early days, and the school has ever been in the very fore front in its use of this agency so essential in all true scientific work. In the erection of its first buildings, in the forties, better laboratory facilities were desired and received. That was true again when, about forty years later, a new building was erected for the department of natural sciences. A botanical garden was later laid out on grounds adjoining this building. So that today the Normal School is equipped with chemical, physical meteorological and biological laboratories second to few if any in all France.

In these laboratories have been trained, during the last half century, the best scientists of France, and from them have come forth important scientific discoveries. They were not used for research laboratories, however, till the days of the great Pasteur. And that eminent scientist on resigning the deanship of the Faculty of Science of Lille to become the Administrator and Director of Scientific studies in the Normal School, in 1857, created something of a sensation in the Ministerial Bureau by asking for a private chemical laboratory and for an assistant in the same. But he was granted both and was thus enabled to continue his investigations, the outcome of which have brought so much fame both to him and to the Normal School.

The research work begun by Pasteur was taken up by others, both professors and students, and continued even to the present time so that Buisson is undoubtedly right in his claim that it is the work in its laboratories and libraries that has really given the school its great strength. He says: "It is that which permits it to give to France professors not only well instructed but yet more—men of wisdom, spirits truly original who give new life to that which they touch. * * * * They cultivate science

[10]For an interesting description of the "Usher" and his duties see "Pictures of the French," by Jules Janin, Balzac, Cormenin and others, pp. 257-264.

for its own sake; they busy themselves in personal works, in original investigations."[1]

10.

BREADTH OF SCOPE.

In the early days of this school Napoleon fondly hoped that the time would soon come, indeed his circular of 1813 said it had already come, when it could furnish all the teachers needed in the secondary schools of France—the Royal and Communal Colleges. But that time has never come. Nor do I think that, save in the mind of Napoleon, it has ever been strongly desired or planned. The very limit of its equipment would make such a conclusion wholly out of the question. The present equipment is adequate for only about 130 students, and even these facilities it has enjoyed for only twenty years.

As a matter of fact, during its entire history from 1810, the school has enrolled less than 3000 students, all told, and not more than one-half of that number have succeeded in obtaining the rank of aggregation from which alone have appointments been made to fill professorships.

Up to 1866, according to Barnard, about 1700 students had been enrolled. Of that number 788 had obtained this coveted rank: "113 in the department of grammar, 268 in letters, 56 in philosophy, 60 in history, 201 in mathematics, 70 in physics and 20 in modern languages."[2] I have not at hand the statistics for the entire period since 1866, but as fairly illustrative of the period I give those from 1878 to 1888, inclusive. During those eleven years 408 of the students of the Normal School were successful in the examination for aggregation, an average of a trifle over 37 per year. During these same eleven years 613 candidates educated elsewhere received the rank.[3]

But to stop at this point and infer that the Normal School has been no more than one of many institutions fitting for these high college positions would be greatly to underestimate the scope and importance of its work. Not alone thru its students in the full professorships in the secondary schools of France has it shown its influence. Nearly all of the students who have not succeeded in obtaining the high rank of aggregation have, nevertheless, occupied responsible positions in the colleges as assistant professors or as other officials. And if the school has not filled all the professorial chairs, if preparation elsewhere has also enabled men to pass the severe examinations, the glory of the school is not one whit dimmed by such a fact. It has from the beginning to the end of its history, set the pace, so to speak, in the education of this grade of teachers. Its preparation has been the standard. And other institutions that have cared and dared to compete have been obliged to add to their equipment and to improve the character of their instruction before being able to enter the lists. So it is no exaggeration to say that the Superior Normal School has elevated the character of all the higher educational institutions of France * * * * that it has indeed been, for nearly three-quarters of a century, the "superior" school of higher instruction.

So much for its work as forming teachers and influencing the general work of education. But that is not all. In still another way has it served a noble purpose and exerted a powerful influence upon the developing and expanding life of intellectual France. Not all its students have become

---

[1]Buisson: Dictionnaire. Ibid., p. 768.
[2]Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 331.
[3]Statistique de L'Enseignement Supérieur, p. 705.

teachers,[4] and some of those have served only ten years of their original engagement. They have then entered upon what really became their life work, that pursuit for which the specialized work of the Normal School had so well prepared them—journalism, authorship, scientific research or what-not. In the words of Barnard, writing in 1872, whose statement is very similar to others made by French writers of much more recent date, this is well brought out. Indeed the strongest criticism of the school in recent years has been that it has seemingly forgotten its own specific functions in emphasizing so strongly and in doing so much along the line mentioned by Dr. Barnard. The statement referred to runs as follows:

"In preparing learned and able teachers for the youth, the Normal School has also educated distinguished authors and savants. There is no branch of literature or science, which its pupils have not cultivated with success and honor. By whom are most of the prizes, annually given by the Academies, borne off, if not by the former pupils of the Normal School?" [5]

---

[4]The ten years engagement has always held, but yet, in 1814, a regulation was passed in accordance with which one might be released from that engagement by paying into the treasury of the school 1000 francs for each year of residence therein. See Rendu: Code Universitaire, note on page 225.

[5]Barnard: National Education, (1872) p. 331.

CHAPTER IX.

REORGANIZATION NOW IN PROGRESS. (1)

From all that has been said of the work of these closing fifty years of the life of the school, the conclusion forces itself upon us that the *École Normale* has been what we should term a *normal* school only in name. It may have been something *more,* it has not been a *normal* school. With absolutely no place on its program given to pedagogical subjects—psychology, pedagogy, history of education, philosophy of education and the rest; with the old term of practice teaching reduced from eight weeks to fifteen days, and not even the fifteen days regarded seriously; and with every emphasis placed upon academic and research work, how has the school differed from a university? The answer is simple. It has not differed. It has been, as one French writer says, "the sole university of Paris for 50 years." The only real difference is well pointed out in the following quotation: "Since the universities have been reconstituted, the Normal School is distinguished from them only by the small number of its students and the fact that they are recruited by competition and submit to the internat."

Formerly there was no objection to this departure. There was no demand for pedagogically equipped teachers in the secondary and higher schools of France. Prospective teachers for such positions did not need to give careful thought to the science and art of teaching. Thoro academic equipment in the subjects to be taught was looked upon as the only essential qualification. Nor in this did the French differ from ourselves. They and we have, for fifty years and more, been increasingly giving our elementary teachers opportunities for perfecting themselves in this most difficult of all arts, and then requiring them to prove acquaintance with the art before allowing them to undertake the work of instruction; but for our secondary and higher teaching we have proceeded upon the assumption that scholarship is the only *sine qua non.*

That assumption, however, has been disproved in France and is being disproved in America. True, there are still in both countries many persons, even many holding positions in institutions of secondary and higher education, who speak slightingly of professional preparation for any but the elementary teacher, who speak the word 'pedagogy' with a sneer and 'method' with a laugh and who look with a sort of condescending pity upon one engaged in acquiring for himself or in aiding others to acquire such preparation. But yet, there as here, the slighting remark is made only by those wholly ignorant of both the science and the art, whose ignorance is in no way more clearly made known than by such remarks unless it be by their own defective teaching.

France, I say, has disproved the assumption. In no better way can I show that she believes it disproved than by outlining, even though briefly, the reorganization of the Normal School, and giving some reasons for the same.

This reorganization, which was decreed on the 10th of November, 1903, is not something suddenly sprung upon the school by a hostile act of

---

[1]My chief sources of information for this chapter are an article in La Revue de Paris" of Dec. 1, 1903, "La Reorganization de L'Ecole normale," by M. Gustave Lanson, and one in "Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement" of Jan. 15, 1904, "La réform des agrégations et la reorganization de l'Ecole normale."

the Ministry. On the contrary, the forces and circumstances which have made it necessary have been for many years working in the clear light of all. Some change had to be made and everybody knew it.

With the intellectual and educational awakening that France has been experiencing during the last 30 years—with her new renaissance—there has been an unprecedented demand for teachers. And from no source has this demand been greater or more persistent than from the colleges and universities which have so rapidly increased during the latter part of this period. This demand the Normal School could not supply. Reference has already been made to the fact that from 1878 to 1888 a greater number of agrégés were prepared elsewhere than in the Normal School. From that time to the present, owing to the very necessities of the case, the Sorbonne has made it one of its chief ends to prepare students for the examination leading to aggregation or, in other words, to equip men for secondary and superior teaching. This great institution and the Normal School, strangely enough, have been rivals in this work, and during the last four years the former has succeeded in turning out a greater number of agrégés than the latter, 136 as against 126, though both together have not been able to furnish as many as called for—332.

But during these years of great demand the call has been not alone for more professors but as well for better prepared ones, that is, for men as thoroly grounded and skilled in the science and art of teaching as in the subjects to be taught. This pedagogical equipment, however, the Normal School could not give even tho it was supposed to be its chief function. It could not give it because it had not done so and because it was already being taxed to its utmost to keep up with its powerful rival in the work which it had been doing. The University of Paris could not give it because it was so entirely outside its field. As a matter of fact, the two institutions were duplicating courses and fighting to a finish with neither one able to satisfy the most pressing educational need of the time, tho the two were practically the nation's only hope for a satisfactory solution of its problem. What was to be done? The educational authorities answered the question by the decree of reorganization. In attempting to give in a few words the objects sought to be accomplished by that decree, I cannot do better than to quote from the article referred to:

"The decree of Nov. 11 decided in substance that the Normal School shall be reunited to the University of Paris: not to be abolished and thus to disappear, but in order to make its original function its chief one. The Normaliens shall be, together with the boursiers, students of the University of Paris in the pursuit of scientific culture; and the boursiers shall be, together with the pensioners of the street of Ulm, members of the Normal School for preparation of a pedagogical character. Two questions which have been very pressing during these later years receive thus their settlement: (1) that of the relations between the Normal School and the University of Paris; (2) that of professional preparation of the teachers in the secondary schools." [2]

In speaking of some of the advantages of such an arrangement the writer goes on to say:

"The decree makes possible that which with their single means they," (that is, the University and the Normal School), "were not able to do. On the other hand, it frees the University from a work which was not its own and which it could not undertake without deviating from its true destination. Circumstances had compelled it to form professors: but its function is to make, if not learned men, at least workmen of science. In receiving into itself the Normal School, in entrusting to it the professional preparation of those of its students who are planning to teach, the Uni-

[2]Revue de Paris: Ibid., p. 521.

versity gives itself up wholly to its own particular work. The University, a scientific work shop; the Normal School, a pedagogical seminary: the students enroll in one for scientific purposes, in the other for the art of teaching; here we see matters arranged in their just relations, harmony in the place of discord." [3]

What the change really amounts to is this: the incorporation of the Normal School into the University of Paris, so that its official name might well be "The Pedagogical Department of the University of Paris." The details of the arrangement have not yet been fully worked out. Such undertakings consume much time for their final and satisfactory adjustment. The plan in outline, however, is announced. It is for all the students of the University (the University in its broadest sense as including the Normal School) who look forward to teaching to spend their first two years in the University for their purely academic studies, then go to the Normal School for a closing year of professional work. As a portion of this latter attention will be given to the practical aspects of teaching not omitting even practice teaching itself tho only college positions are in view.

Considerable opposition to the plan has shown itself in some quarters, especially from former students of the Normal. For the most part, however, this opposition seems to be based upon sentiment rather than upon reason, and it is hoped that skilful management in the details of the reorganization and rearrangement will cause it to pass away.

---

[3]Revue de Paris: Ibid., p. 530.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. André: Nos Maitres Aujourdhui; 3 volumes (1875).
2. André: Nos Maitres Hier (1872).
3. Bache: Education in Europe (1837).
4. Baird: An article on "The University of France" in the American Quarterly Review, Vol. 9, Pages 17-58 (1836).
5. Barante: Histoire de la Convention Nationale; 6 volumes (1853).
6. Barnard: National Education (1872).
7. Barrau: Législation de l'Instruction Publique (1853).
8. Buisson: Dictionaire de Pédagogie; two parts, each of two volumes (1885). Special references: Articles on "École normale de l'An III," "École normale supérieur," and "Convention," all in the first volume of the first part.
9. Compayré: History of Pedagogy. Translated by W. H. Payne (1885).
10. Compayré: Les Doctrines de l'Education; 2 vols. (1880).
11. Cousin: Report of the State of Public Education in Prussia, translated by Mrs. Austin (1834).
12. Dupuy, Paul (et. al.): Le Centenaire de L'École Normale (1895).
13. Gréard: La Législation de l'Instruction Primaire en France; 3 volumes (1874).
14. Guillaume: Procés—verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale.
15. Hippeau: L'Instruction en France pendant la Révolution. Débats Législative (1883). Special reference: Pages 177-182.
16. Hippeau: L'Instruction en France pendant la Révolution (1881). Special reference: Pages 408-423.
17. Janin, Balzac, Cormenin and Others: Pictures of the French. Special reference: P. P. 257-264 for description of the "Usher" and his work.
18. Larousse: Grand Dictionnaire Universal du XIX Siécle. Special reference: Article on "Ecole normale supérieure." Vol. 7, P. 112.
19. Liard: L'Enseignement Supérieur en France. Two Vol., the first published in 1888, the second in 1894.
20. Melon: L'Enseignement Supérieur et Technigue en France (1893).
21. Moniteur, l'Ancien, de la Révolution Francais; Réimpression (1860-1870). Special reference: Vols. 22-24.
22. Montgaillard: Histoire de France; 9 Vols. (1827). Special references: Vol. 9, P. P. 296-311 and Vol. IX, P. 107.
23. Paroz: Histoire de la Pédagogie (1880).
24. Recuil des Lois et Actes de 'Instruction Publique (1848-1903).
25. Rendu M.: Code Universitaire (1846).
26. Rendu A.: Système de l'Université de France (1816).
27. Simon: L'École (1881).
28. Simon: La Réforme de l'Enseignement (1874).
29. Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieur (1888).
30. Taine: Modern Régime; 2 vols. (1894). Special reference: Vol. 2, Pages 137-265, Book Sixth, "Public Instruction."
31. Wolff: "Les Doctrines de l'Education Révolutionnaire," found in E. Faguet's "L'Oeuvre de la Revolution Francais," Pages 107-215 (1901).

PERIODICALS.

32. Revue Historique.
33. Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement. Special reference: article, "La réforme des agregations et la réorganisation de l'École normale supérieure (Jan. 15, 1904).
34. Revue des deux Mondes.
35. Revue de Paris. Special Reference: Article "La Réorganization de l'École normale" (Dec. 1st, 1903).
36. Revue Universitaire. Special Reference: Vol. I, 1895, P. P. 351-387.